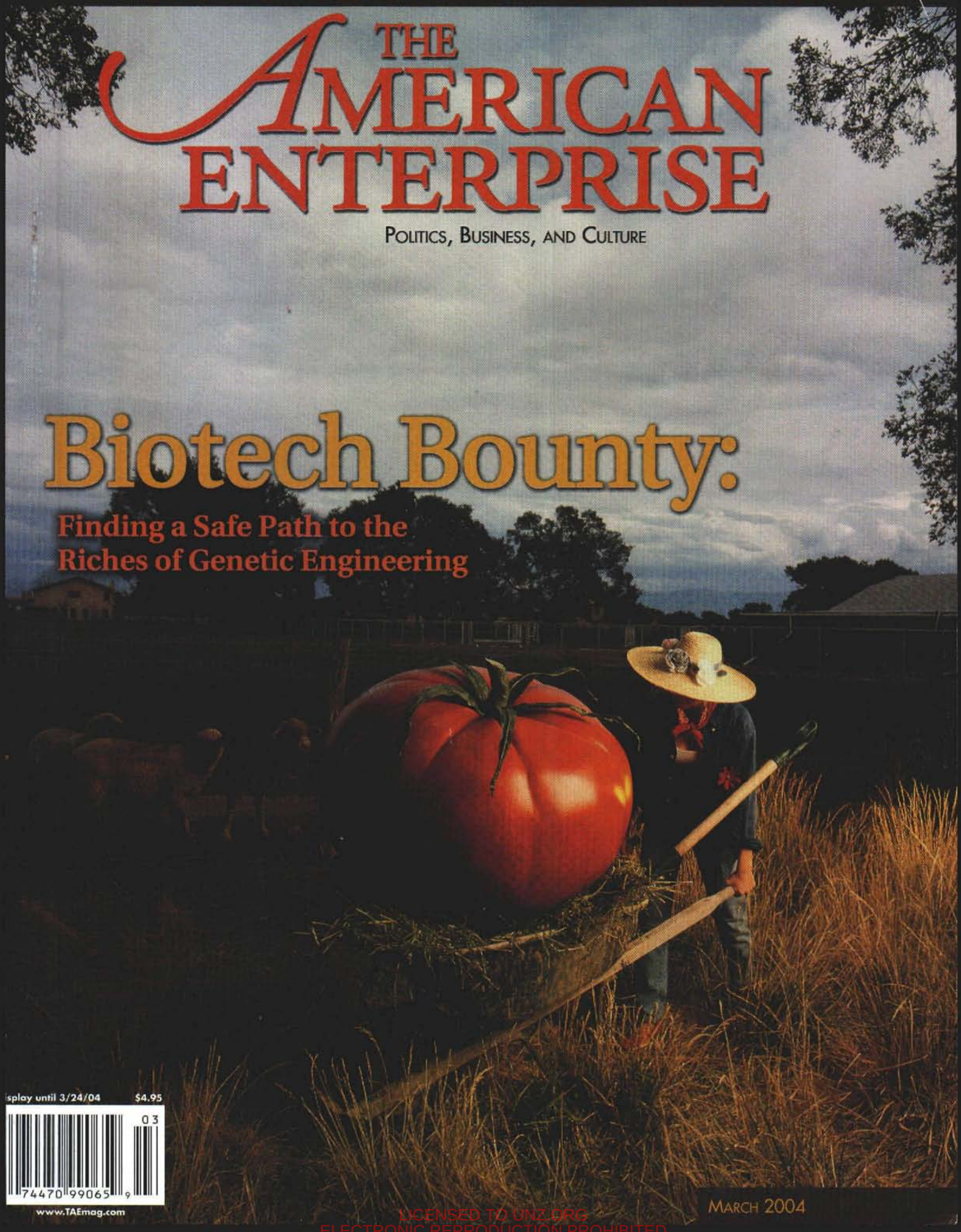
MISSILE MANIA | BIOTECH ETHICS | DANA GIOIA | E.U. CONFUSION

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

Biotech Bounty:

Finding a Safe Path to the Riches of Genetic Engineering



splay until 3/24/04 $4.95

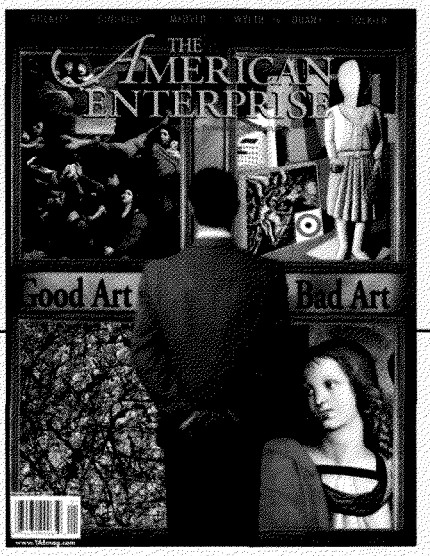
03

74470 99065 9

www.TAEmag.com

MARCH 2004

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Read the Very Best

"I have been an enthusiastic reader for years. From where I sit, *Commentary* was the most important conservative magazine in the 1980s, but *First Things* rose to claim that title in the early 1990s, and then gave way to *The American Enterprise*, which I think has been the most important conservative magazine since about 1997."
—Mark Henrie, Senior Editor/Journals, Intercollegiate Studies Institute

"Stimulating and interesting. A very fine magazine." —Ambassador Max Kampelman

"Because I raise funds for political organizations I read virtually every political magazine published in America. Most I read because I must, but your journal I read because I want to. *The American Enterprise* is undoubtedly the best journal of thought and opinion in America." —Bruce Eberle, Eberle Communications Group, McLean, Virginia

"The thoughtful pieces and cultural critique provided in *The American Enterprise* set exactly the right tone for national discussions." —U.S. Senators Sam Brownback and Rick Santorum

"As former editor in chief of *Chief Executive* magazine I read your publication quite closely; it's one of the best-edited publications on society and politics. Keep it up." —J. P. Donlon, Principal, The Dilenschneider Group

"By far the best national policy magazine being published today." —Merrick Carey, CEO, Lexington Institute

"I love *The American Enterprise*. The magazine reads wonderfully." —Abigail Thernstrom, Harvard University

...For The Very Least

Annual subscription costs:

American Spectator	$ 34.95	National Review	$ 59.00
The Economist	$125.00	The New Republic	$ 59.94
First Things	$ 34.00	The Weekly Standard	$ 78.00
Human Events	$ 79.95		
The Nation	$ 35.97	**The American Enterprise**	**$28.00**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IF IT'S IMPORTANT, IT'S ON . . .

Think TANK

With BEN WATTENBERG

"Thank you for such an excellent program. It seems difficult to find anything worth viewing on television these days. I especially enjoy the format of your program. It's like having friends sitting around the table in your home discussing interesting topics. Again, thank you at THINK TANK for such an excellent program. You have another admiring fan.

Excellent show on the King James Bible. Another one-half hour on this subject would have been welcome.

Once again your program was the best of the best. Your choice of subject and the people you bring in for the dialogue are also the best. Whenever you are on Sunday TV I dash home from worship to watch. It is worth the time. Cheers to Ben Wattenberg as an interviewer.

I have been watching the various programs you've hosted for years, and I think you always present a balanced approach.

Thank you for your program. I do watch it regularly and find it in a class of its own. What a departure from much of the opinionated commentators that seem to be quite prevalent today.

The two half-hours on Irving Berlin were great. The topic was engaging and so were the people on the show, especially Irving Berlin's daughter, Linda. I had never watched your program before but I will now become a loyal viewer if all your shows are like those. Thanks again for an interesting program!

Thank you so much for the two shows about Berlin. They were informative, entertaining, enjoyable and had lots of great music clips. Gives us hope for television after all."

Our only response is "thank you"!

PBS

THINK TANK: THE PBS PROGRAM ON IDEAS

Pfizer

Support for **THINK TANK** is provided by Pfizer Inc., the Smith Richardson Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation, and the Bernard & Irene Schwartz Foundation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

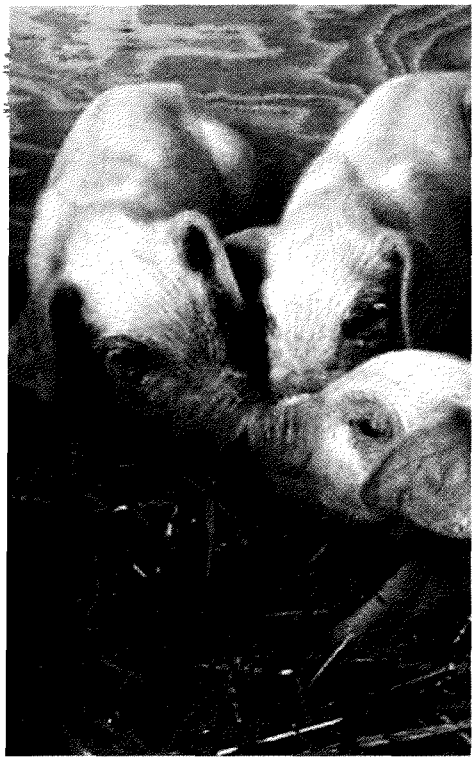
MARCH 2004 VOL. 15, NO. 2

4 BIRD'S EYE ◆ *Jon Entine*
It's high time genetically modified products got their fair shot in the marketplace.

6 SIDELIGHTS
Senator Boxer's underwear. Sushi à la nude. Italian conceptions for cash. Cigarette bootlegging becomes deadly.

7 SCAN ◆ Short news and commentary
Missile defense goes mainstream. Western leftists and Third World fascists. Bush's education warrior. A change of heart about the Iraq war.

12 "LIVE" WITH *TAE*
Poets who write in traditional forms and survive outside academia are hard to find. Add real business experience and a personal mission of national service and you've described Dana Gioia, the new chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts.



PAGE 22

Cover photo: Getty Images/Chip Simons

BIOTECH BOUNTY

16 TECHNOLOGY THAT WILL SAVE BILLIONS FROM STARVATION
C. S. Prakash and *Gregory Conko*
Leading world scientists have attested to the safety of agricultural biotechnology and are calling for bioengineered crops to be extended to those who need them most—hungry people in the developing world.

22 REAPING THE BIOTECH HARVEST
Lester Crawford
With a century-long record of regulating food safety, the FDA is poised to ensure that new, genetically modified food products are as safe as their natural counterparts.

24 BATTLE FOR BIOTECH PROGRESS
Patrick Moore
A Green activist warns that the anti-science, anti-human obstructions of environmentalists must be resisted.

28 THE CULTURE WAR BEHIND THE BIOTECHNOLOGY DEBATE
Tony Gilland discusses the European trend of emotional, rather than rational, responses to concerns about biotechnology. *Carol Tucker Foreman* explains what needs to happen for people to embrace biotech products.

32 DEVELOPING THE BIOMEDICAL CENTURY
Scott Gottlieb
Amazing discoveries abound but patients are kept waiting. How to get new treatments from the lab to the drugstore.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

34 BIOTECHNOLOGY AND OUR HAPPINESS
Leon Kass, Gregg Easterbrook, Diana Schaub, and *Peter Augustine Lawler* discuss the new report of the President's Council on Bioethics and the challenges ahead.

40 EUROPE'S CONSTITUTION CONFUSION
Jonathan Kallmer
The E.U. is in the midst of drafting a constitution to establish a more perfect union. The results are less than perfect, putting European integration at risk.

PAGE 34

44 FLASHBACK ◆ *Bill Kauffman*
Purchase Louisiana? No thanks!

45 FORWARD OBSERVER ◆ *James Glassman*
The developing world needs democracy, free markets, and an end to corrupt governments.

46 NOW PLAYING ◆ *Josh Larsen*
A moving glimpse of Afghanistan's Taliban days.

47 BEAT THE PRESS
The media, race, and the cops.

48 POLITICO ◆ *Grover Norquist*
Why the Democrats might win the Presidency in November.

49 THE ECONOMIST
With a greatly troubled foster care system, reformers look to boarding schools to save children's lives, writes *Paul Offner.*

50 ENTERPRISING ◆ Business as an act of creation
Federal subsidies escalate in line with rising college costs. Both are growing faster than consumer prices and median family incomes.

52 TRANSCRIPT ◆ Words worth repeating
Why FOX News beat the mainstream media.

54 BOOKTALK
- Susanna Dokupil—*No Excuses: Closing the Racial Gap in Learning* by Abigail and Stephan Thernstrom
- Randy Boyagoda—*Beethoven's Ninth: A Political History* by Esteban Buch
- Eli Lehrer—*The Lewis and Clark Journals: An American Epic of Discovery* edited by Gary Moulton

57 THE DIGEST ◆ Summaries of important research
Security at what price? Labor moves to the right.
No more Mr. Nice Regulator. ID's done right.
DDT by the spoonful. Weapons of microwave destruction.

60 OPINION PULSE ◆ The latest survey data
Biotechnology barometer. Views on gay marriage.

63 THE MAIL

64 LAST GASP

PAGE 46

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

March 2004 Vol. 15, No. 2

Publisher Christopher DeMuth
Editor in Chief Karl Zinsmeister
Senior Editors Daniel Kennelly
Karina Rollins
Associate Editors Brandon Bosworth
Bill Kauffman
Eli Lehrer
John Meroney
Opinion Pulse Editor Karlyn Bowman
Art Director Jo Roback-Pal
Graphic Designers Jeanne Berger
Susan Levine
Proofreader David Brandt
Interns Rachel Jurado
Amy Thoma
Marketing Director Ann Zinsmeister
Business Manager Garth Cadiz
Chief of Operations David Gerson
Contributing Writers James Glassman, Blake Hurst, Joel Kotkin, Philip Langdon, Daniel Lapin, Josh Larsen, Catesby Leigh, Michael Medved, Deroy Murdock, Grover Norquist, Ralph Reiland, Naomi Schaefer, Frederick Turner, Scott Walter, Chris Weinkopf

Web Site
www.TAEmag.com

Letters to the Editor
"The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, or fax (202) 862-5867, or e-mail TAE@aei.org

Main Editorial and Production Office
The American Enterprise
1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 862-5886, or e-mail TAE@aei.org

Office of the Editor in Chief
The American Enterprise
23 Hurd Street, Cazenovia, N.Y. 13035
(315) 655-1033

Manuscripts
The editors welcome article submissions. Send to TAE@aei.org or "Submissions" at our Washington, D.C. mailing address.

Back Issues
Buy at TAEmag.com (click Back Issues tab). Or send $7 per copy to The American Enterprise, 109 Briarcliffe Road, Dewitt, N.Y. 13214

Subscriptions
New or Problems: (888) 295-9007. $28 for one year. (Available for U.S. and Canada delivery only.)

Postmaster: Send all subscription correspondence and address changes to The American Enterprise, P.O. Box 6074, Duluth, MN 55806-6074. ISSN 1047-3572. Published eight times per year (J/F, M, A/M, J, J/A, S, O/N, D) by the American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C. and additional mailing offices. Copyright © 2004, the American Enterprise Institute. All rights reserved.

Bird's Eye

Let Them Eat Precaution

By Jon Entine

On cue, at last fall's World Trade Organization meeting in Cancun, self-anointed "Green" activists showed up to protest the use of gene modification (G.M.) technology in agriculture. A bevy of teenagers outfitted as monarch butterflies flitted through what resembled a Halloween riot. Dotted amongst the chanting demonstrators was an assortment of human side dishes including walking "killer" tomatoes, a man dressed as a cluster of drippy purple grapes, and a woman in a strawberry costume topped with a fish head peddling T-shirts that warned of the weird and horrid mutants that will be created if "Corporate America" and the "multinationals" get their way.

It would all be so very entertaining—if there weren't so much at stake, largely for the very people in Africa and Asia for whom these protestors purport to speak. As Patrick Moore, co-founder of Greenpeace, who split with environmental fundamentalists over their didactic rejection of genetic modification, writes in his piece beginning on page 24, "I cannot comprehend that anyone, let alone someone who fancies himself as progressive, would argue against pursuing research on putting a daffodil gene in rice that could boost its Vitamin A content and prevent a half million children from going blind each year. Yet, that's just what they're doing. They even oppose basic research."

What a disheartening turn in the genetics revolution. Fifty-one years ago this February, James Watson and Francis Crick hoisted pints of ale into the air at the Eagle Pub near Cambridge University and declared: "We have found the secret of life!" The two young scientists had finally identified the elegant, double-helix structure of the DNA molecule, which contains the chemical codes for all living things, animal and plant. The era of genetic science had begun. In 2004 we are just beginning to exploit its potential. We see the future in the promising screening procedures and therapies developed to treat hundreds of genetic disorders from breast cancer to sickle cell to cystic fibrosis. It enables crime scene investigators to clear the innocent and convict the real criminals.

But of most immediate importance, it is spreading the Green Revolution to the poorest corners of the globe. G.M. technology has led to the development of soybeans, wheat, and cotton that generate natural insecticides, making them more drought resistant, reducing the need for costly and environmentally harmful chemicals, and increasing yields. Researchers are perfecting ways to increase the vitamin content of staples like rice and bananas, which could dramatically cut malnutrition and lengthen life spans. Yet, for all its vast demonstrated value, this still-nascent technology, which promises further breakthroughs in fields such as plant-based pharmaceuticals, remains drastically underused, mired in controversy.

Some concerns are serious. There needs to be a vigorous discussion about the degree to which corporations should be allowed to patent and therefore control beneficial biotech products they develop. Monsanto, Novartis, and other firms maintain they need to recoup their research costs. There is an eminently reasonable concern over corporate control, but it has taken a backseat to sensational and often misleading allegations.

Consider the hyperbolic campaign against treating cows to increase milk yields. Organic activists allege that 90 percent of our milk supply is "contaminated" by being

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mixed with milk from cows treated with a protein supplement, recombinant bovine somatotropin (rbST). A decade ago, farmers discovered that cows given supplements produce more milk for a longer time. That means less feed and fuel are needed than for other herds, which results in a host of environmental benefits. But the bio-fermentation process, which is similar to making beer and wine and doesn't change the milk, involves biotechnology, and has sparked an outrageous scare campaign.

The anti-biotech industry is stocked with scientific illiterates who worship the primitive over progress.

There is simply no evidence that biotechnology poses greater risks than crossbreeding or gene-splicing, which have given us seedless grapes and the tangelo. Virtually every plant grown commercially for food or fiber is a product of crossbreeding, hybridization, or both. Using traditional breeding methods, about which there is absolutely no controversy, thousands of genes of often-unknown function are moved into crops and animals. The new biotech tools allow breeders to select specific genes that produce desired traits and move them from one plant or animal to another.

Time and again, dire warnings have been unmasked as little more than hysteria-grams. Years of hammering away with misinformation have taken an enormous toll—polluting public opinion, profoundly altering the trajectory of biotechnology applications, and damaging the financial wherewithal of companies and university research projects.

Undercut by the mounting genetic evidence, anti-G.M. forces have cooked up a new tactic, invoking the lowest common denominator in fabricated scientific disputes: the "precautionary principle." They assert that "Trojan Horse" genes not subject to built-in checks and balances in nature could cause environmental havoc. They argue for a halt to all commercial uses of biotechnology. They politicize the issue by introducing into common usage the pejorative appellations "pollution" and "contamination" to describe the mixing of genetically modified seed or crops with conventional supplies. They claim to be acting on behalf of innocent but unaware consumers and the natural environment.

"Better safe than sorry" has nice a ring of moderation, but it's deceptive in this context. Recall the dozens of serious injuries and the death of a Seattle girl in 1997 from drinking unpasteurized, E. coli-laced juice made by Odwalla from apples that had fallen in "natural" fertilizer: dung. While there have been no documented health problems and no deaths or injuries linked to bioengineering, people die every year from eating "naturally" contaminated foods. If the precautionary principle were applied to "natural" foods, they would be stripped from the grocery shelves overnight.

Let's underscore what's going on here: Activists demonize biotechnology by exploiting a general wariness about science. This is not a scientific dispute, but an ideological and religious one: Don't tamper with nature. It's a romantic and superficially seductive message, but a blanket insinuation that nature is always benign or better is obviously hokum. The anti-biotech industry is stocked with scientific illiterates who worship the primitive over progress and confrontation over reform even if it means freezing the developing world out of the benefits that we take for granted.

Some mainstream environmental groups, such as the Sierra Club, and "ethical" investors, which could have taken the high road on a complex issue, instead stand with anti-science hardliners in arguing for mandatory labeling of products made with G.M. technology. More disclosure seems reasonable, but mandatory labeling is a disingenuous ploy designed to stigmatize biotech products with what amounts to a skull and crossbones. Michael Passoff, of the anti-biotech group As You Sow, bragged about what would happen if the campaign succeeds. "We expect that [the food industry] won't want to risk alienating their customers with labeling, so they'll eventually decide not to use any bio-stuff at all," he chortled. In other words, G.M. products with proven health and environmental benefits would vaporize from the marketplace.

The call for labeling, even absent evidence of problems, has nonetheless resonated strongly in Europe, where scares involving mad cow disease and dioxin-contaminated feed have rattled the public. Supermarket chains have yanked G.M. products. The European Union has had an unofficial moratorium on new bioengineered seeds and food for five years, and will not lift the embargo until it is assured that the U.S. won't resist its labeling rules. Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries support mandatory labeling of G.M.-derived foods.

The ideological crosswinds have spawned regulatory bodies, global protests, litigation, Internet campaigns, and an international humanitarian crisis over whether people in famine stricken countries should starve rather than eat crops grown using biotechnology. The "earth firsters" are directly responsible for spooking Zambia into rejecting donations of G.M. grain that would have helped feed its desperately starving population.

There are certainly valid concerns that need to be addressed if genetic modification is to get a fair shot in the marketplace. However, in the current atmosphere, rational policy initiatives and coordinated international trade policies are extremely difficult. What is lacking in Europe, and increasingly in the U.S., is a public discussion about the existing and potential benefits of biotechnology. Let's hope this issue of *TAE* furthers that discussion.

BIRD'S EYE guest author Jon Entine is an adjunct fellow at AEI and scholar in residence at Miami University of Ohio. His book on the genetics of Biblical ancestry will come out this year.

Karl Zinsmeister has been re-embedded with the 82nd Airborne in Iraq; his reporting will appear in our next issue.

This installment of *TAE* was commissioned by Karl Zinsmeister and edited by Karina Rollins and Daniel Kennelly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sidelights

By Brandon Bosworth

The *Chicago Tribune* observed that many of the people holding "African Americans for Dean" signs at a **Howard Dean** rally were white. ❧ California Democratic senator **Barbara Boxer**'s re-election campaign is selling boxer shorts imprinted with her name. The Boxer boxers run $15. ❧ "Washington may not succeed in turning Iraq into a 'beacon of democracy,'" wrote *Arab News* columnist **Fawaz Turki**, "but it will succeed, after all is said and done, in turning it into a society of laws and institutions where citizens, along with high-school kids, are protected against arbitrary arrest, incarceration, torture, and execution." ❧ Battles between cigarette bootleggers in Brooklyn claimed the lives of at least three people late last year. The *New York Daily News* reported that as a result of "city and state taxes boosting the price of cigarettes, hundreds of streetwise hustlers are selling cheap tax-free smokes—an illegal but lucrative trade that is becoming nearly as cutthroat as dealing drugs." ··· The tiny Buddhist nation of Bhutan may became the world's first smoke-free country. Smoking is already banned in 19 of Bhutan's 20 districts for religious reasons. ❧ The conviction rate for men charged with rape or sexual assault is 80 percent. The rate drops to 38 percent for professional and college athletes, according to a University of Massachusetts study. ❧ Around Christmas, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) targeted young children attending performances of "The Nutcracker." If the child's mother was wearing fur, PETA gave the child a flyer featuring a picture of a woman stabbing a bloody knife into a rabbit and the words "keep your doggie or kitty friends away from mommy —she's an animal killer." ❧ Post World War II chancellor **Konrad Adenauer** was voted the "best German" of all time in a poll of over 3 million Germans. **Martin Luther** came in second, followed by **Karl Marx**. ❧ German chancellor **Gerhard Schroeder** suggested ending the European Union's arms embargo on China while on a visit to the communist nation. ❧ Accused World War I spy **Mata Hari** was innocent, according to a new book by French historian **Phillipe Collas**, the great-grandson of the judge who sentenced her to death. According to Collas' research, Mata Hari never spied for the Germans, and was executed because the French government needed a scapegoat due to its lack of progress in the war. ❧ A Pennsylvania man cashed in all the pennies he had collected for 40 years. The pennies, which filled over 37 buckets, netted $10,060.

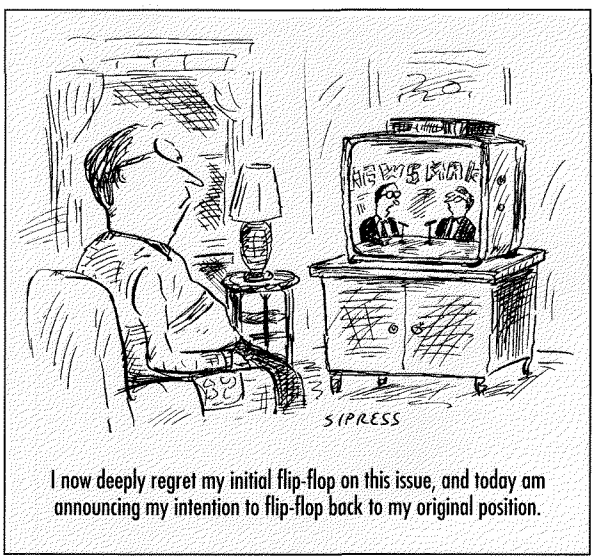
"If you'd like to come into the living room Sweetheart, your mom's prepared a little Power Point presentation about where babies come from."

Asian-American women are protesting a Seattle restaurant that serves sushi off the body of a scantily clad woman. One protester stated, "It's dehumanizing to be treated as a plate." ❧ Thailand's government believes it is near victory in the war on drugs. Says prime minister **Thaksin Shinawatra**: "Illegal drugs have been eradicated to the point they no longer have any great influence on people's lives, but the fight will continue until Thailand is completely drug free." ❧ In an effort to boost birth rates, Italian women who give birth before the end of this year will receive a cash prize of over $1,000 from their government. Italy has one of the lowest birth rates in the world. ❧ Over 60 percent of voters who regularly attend religious services support President **Bush**'s re-election, according to a Pew Research poll. Among those who never attend religious services, more than 60 percent would support a Democratic challenger. ❧ The Shreveport, Louisiana police department had been using voice-recognition equipment to handle non-emergency calls. The equipment soon had to be scrapped, as it could not recognize callers' thick Southern drawls. ··· Computerized voting machines in Boone County, Indiana counted 144,000 votes in an election with fewer than 19,000 eligible voters. ❧ It is now illegal to feed pigeons in London's famed Trafalgar Square. Anyone caught feeding the birds faces a fine of $85 and possible prosecution. Pigeon droppings have caused over $230,000 worth of damage to monuments in the Square.

❧

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Scan



I now deeply regret my initial flip-flop on this issue, and today am announcing my intention to flip-flop back to my original position.

MISSILE DEFENSE: NOT "STAR WARS" ANYMORE

When tomorrow's historians write about 2003, they will no doubt devote most of their ink to the global campaign against terror and its offspring in Iraq. Yet, with long-range ballistic missiles sprouting up like wildflowers around the globe, those historians may save a few pages to discuss something else about last year: Missile defense went mainstream.

What was once derided as "Star Wars" has come into its own. Technological advances, determined U.S. leadership, and rampant missile technology proliferation are making missile defense not just a theoretical dream, but an essential piece of the security puzzle for the United States and its closest allies.

President George W. Bush laid the groundwork for this development in 2001 and 2002. After putting Moscow on notice that he was committed to erecting a missile defense system, he convinced the Russians that it wouldn't upset the U.S.-Russia deterrent balance by offering to slash the U.S. nuclear arsenal by two thirds. With Moscow on board, he then scrapped the anachronistic ABM Treaty, made formal requests for assistance to key allies, and shifted missile defense development into high gear.

Fittingly, Britain was the first ally to join the missile defense coalition. In February 2003, less than two months after Washington made its request, the Blair government agreed to software and hardware upgrades of ground-based radar stations at Flyingdales and Menwith Hill. Once used to scan the skies for Soviet bombers, the bases will now be used to peer over the European horizon and into Central Asia, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean borderlands, watching for accidental or rogue missile launches.

Tokyo had been cooperating quietly with Washington on missile defense research since the late 1990s, when North Korea began to test and deploy medium- and long-range missiles. But it was not until February 2003 that Japan's Defense Agency announced its intention to join the U.S. military for missile defense tests in and around Hawaii. In December 2003 Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi gave military officials the go-ahead for construction of a Japanese missile defense system.

Underscoring the gravity and immediacy of the North Korean threat, Tokyo intends to invest close to $5 billion over the next four years to field the system. Using both land-based missiles, such as modified Patriot PAC-2s and highly sophisticated Patriot PAC-3s, as well as sea-based missiles, Japan's missile shield will help defend its own cities and key U.S. bases. It could be operational by 2007.

Word of Australia's intention to join the U.S. also came in December, when its foreign minister, Alexander Downer, officially informed parliament of the "strategic decision to put in place a long-term measure to counter potential threats to Australia's security and its interests from ballistic missile proliferation."

As with Britain, the Australian decision has a direct link to the U.S. missile shield, since the U.S. system will depend on monitoring and tracking stations in the deserts of central Australia. The Czech and Danish governments also indicated strong support for missile defense.

So, in the span of 12 months, a missile defense program that detractors once claimed would alienate Moscow, isolate Washington, and trigger another arms race, has instead blossomed into a multinational coalition that enfolds four continents and enjoys Moscow's acquiescence. As Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has observed, "Leadership in the right direction finds followers and supporters."

Of course, the international environment itself, teeming with terrorists and tyrants, was also a factor in the mainstreaming of missile defense in 2003.

North Korea defiantly pressed ahead with its twin terror programs, brandishing missilery and nuclear weapons alike. Last year alone, Pyongyang bragged about having a nuclear bomb, re-opened nuclear facilities with the intent of producing more, and even threatened to test a bomb. Its existing missile technology brings Japan, South Korea, and perhaps even the western United States into range.

Iran was caught preparing to enrich uranium and testing nuclear-device precursors. According to Undersecretary of State for Arms Control John Bolton, Iran has engaged in "a massive and covert…

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

effort to acquire sensitive nuclear capabilities." To make matters worse, Tehran conducted a surprise test of its Shahab-3 ballistic missile last spring. With a range of 800 miles, the Shahab-3 can strike U.S. allies in Israel, Jordan, Turkey, Afghanistan, and the Gulf, as well as every inch of Iraq.

Despite Muammar Qaddafi's stunning pre-emptive surrender at the end of 2003, Libya represents a close call—a cautionary tale of the spread of weapons of mass destruction and advanced missilery. According to U.S. officials and the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Libyan nuclear program was further along than previously thought. According to *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Qaddafi bought scores of North Korean missiles, had hired teams of North Korean rocket scientists, and was working on a ballistic missile with a range of 590 miles.

Last but not least, the world saw missile defense in action. Although a June test launch failed to intercept its target, an attempt in December was a complete success as a pair of U.S. Aegis warships off the Hawaiian coast tracked, targeted, and intercepted an inbound missile. Racing toward the target at 8,000 mph, the interceptor missile made contact 85 miles above the earth and proved that we can hit a bullet with a bullet.

Missile defense also proved its worth in combat. According to the 32nd Army Air and Missile Defense Command, the Iraqi military lobbed nearly two dozen missiles at coalition forces during the war. Most were neutralized by PAC-2s and the previously untested PAC-3s, but one almost struck a key coalition command node in Kuwait. The U.S. military confirmed in May that an Iraqi al-Samoud missile launched on March 27 was on a trajectory to hit the headquarters for ground operations. Were it not for U.S. and Kuwaiti Patriot missile batteries, the enemy missile might have decapitated the U.S. military. In fact, debris from the intercepted missile landed on rooftops at Camp Doha.

Missile defense won't eradicate all dangers. September 11 disabused us of that quaint notion. Instead, it is one segment in an interlocking chain-link fence of security, which presupposes global engagement and includes genuine alliances, hard-nosed diplomacy, robust inspection regimes, real deterrence, and in some cases preemptive action.

Pointing to the failed tests and late hits, critics are quick to dismiss missile defense as too expensive and too unreliable. But a 50 percent success rate is far better than the results of doing nothing—a zero percent success rate, a zero percent chance of protecting U.S. troops, a zero percent chance of shielding an entire American city from a missile launch.

—**Alan Dowd** *is director of the Hudson Institute.*

RELIGIOUS DIVIDE

According to a recent poll of religious belief reported by FOX News, Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say they believe in God (by eight percentage points), in heaven (by ten points), in hell (by 15 points), and the devil (by 17 points). Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say they believe in reincarnation (by 14 percentage points), in astrology (by 14 points), in ghosts (by eight points) and UFOs (by five points).

EDUCATION WARRIOR

In late 2000, when President Bush nominated Rod Paige as Secretary of Education, school reformers groaned. Paige, a former high school football coach who had risen to head the Houston Independent School District, was seen as a competent functionary—hardly the obvious candidate to make good on Bush's stirring promise to end "the soft bigotry of low expectations."

It didn't help that teachers' unions and education establishment insiders responded positively to news of Paige's nomination. When the massive No Child Left Behind Act was introduced, and Paige and the Bush team dropped private school vouchers altogether to gain Democratic support, many education reformers gave up on Secretary Paige.

But a funny thing has happened over the past three years: Rod Paige has become an education warrior. His urgency about failing public schools has been palpable in recent public comments. In the past months, he has branded the National Education Association a "coalition of the whining," and fought tenaciously for a Washington, D.C. vouchers bill. He has assembled a deft and capable team at the Department of Education, cleaning out a number of bureaucratic mossbacks from important mid-level posts.

This evolution runs directly counter to the Washington trend, in which hard-charging reformers gradually accommodate themselves to the system. Rod Paige has moved in the opposite direction.

What has driven Paige to become a crusader, it seems, is the near-universal "no" that has greeted Bush's No Child Left Behind Act. From every corner of the land has come a chorus of wails about the pressure the law places on states to increase student achievement. Some states have shamefully subverted the law by setting up weak accountability and testing systems. Other states have played fast and loose with important definitions. California decided that it had *not one* "persistently dangerous" school in the state, which would probably come as a shock to many students and parents in south central L.A.

To be sure, No Child Left Behind is an unwieldy beast, full of artless compromises. But it is nonetheless a milestone: For the first time, public schools will be required to show progress among every group of students, and there will be real consequences for failure. That is a start.

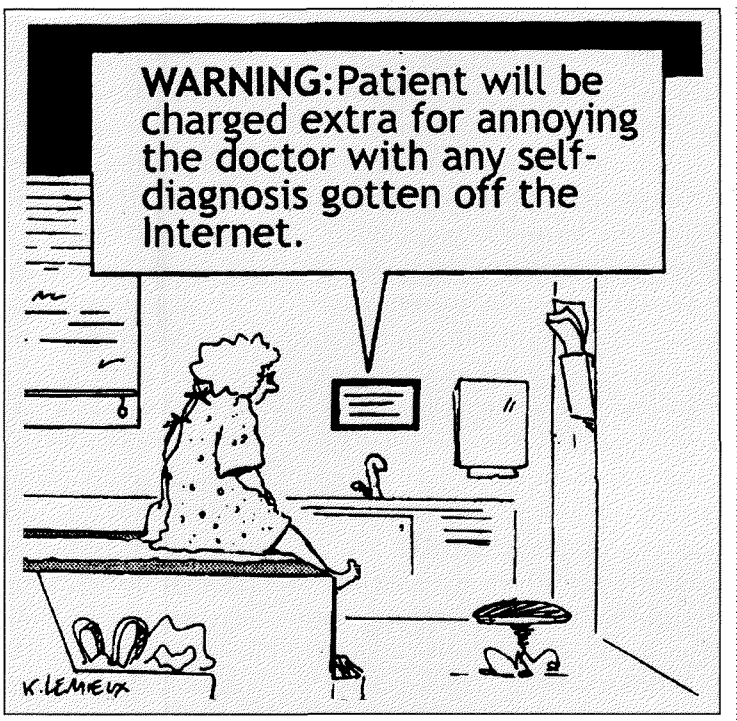
And in defense of this law Paige's rhetoric has become combative, to the shock of the education establishment. Recently, in a Web chat sponsored by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Education Week, a testing official from Massachusetts wrote that the law's requirement that all students know what they ought to know at their grade level by 2014 "is a brief period." Paige wrote back, "Are we really willing to say...that we—the richest and most powerful nation on earth—are simply unable to 'fix' our schools?" When a school principal returned to the point again, Paige—his irritation increasing—fired back, "If you do not support 100 percent of our children, which percentage do you suggest that we leave behind?"

That is the question that has needed to be asked of the education establishment for too many years. Rod Paige, to everyone's surprise, is asking it forcefully.

—**Justin Torres** *is research director of the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation.*



THE NEW FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE

National security has always depended on our ability to see our adversaries' defensive arrangements clearly, and their ability to see ours. As long as each side can see what the other is doing, neither need fear a surprise attack.

Before the advent of weapons of mass destruction, our first line of defense was a territorial border. But such weapons are so easy to hide and move around that this line of defense now runs deep into the bureaucracies of our adversaries. In rogue states, the bureaucracy itself is a shadowy world of criminal intrigues and terrorist plots. Without transparency in their WMD programs, the danger of sudden catastrophe is always present.

Jurists fiercely debate the legality of President Bush's doctrine of "preempting" such threats before they have fully formed. Article 2 of the United Nations Charter prohibits the use of force, so the question is the scope of Article 51, the Charter's "self-defense" provision. Article 51 protects "the inherent right of self-defense," but only "if an armed attack occurs." Whatever this may mean, the real debate has revolved around whether a threat is imminent enough to justify a preemptive strike.

But the word "imminent" doesn't appear once in the Charter. It does not even appear in the nineteenth-century exchange of diplomatic letters between Britain and America related to the Caroline dispute—the classic precedent for the "imminent threat" rule. The proposition that only an imminent attack can justify a preemptive strike is an academic invention that has gained currency only through repetition. The Caroline letters, in fact, stand for a very different proposition: Self-defense is justified when it is necessary.

But the Charter almost certainly supercedes the Caroline precedent. Many scholars, especially abroad, thus argue that international law prohibits preemption of even the most "imminent" attack. According to this view, even if your neighbor has declared war and is piling up forces on your border, your only hope is the Security Council. This absurd interpretation has an unfortunate virtue: It corresponds exactly to what the Charter actually says.

Luckily, international law provides rules for interpreting treaty provisions that are "manifestly absurd or unreasonable." The first place to look is the notes from a given treaty's preparatory work—in this case, the records of the negotiations culminating in the San Francisco Conference of 1945, at which the U.N. was born.

In all the original drafts, Article 2 prohibited "the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of this Organization." As the stated purpose of the U.N. is the "prevention and removal of threats to the peace," the original version of Article 2 left no doubt as to the legality of self-defense, preemptive or otherwise.

But an Australian amendment adopted in the final weeks of the Conference effectively neutralized the qualification. The subtlety of the alteration explains why the delegates were so slow to grasp that many legitimate uses of force would now be illegal. Questions turned into confusion, and confusion into panic. With only weeks left in the Conference, and without even agreeing on what it meant, the delegates produced an incoherent compromise: Article 51.

Article 51 never made any sense. Its only effect is to cast doubt on the legitimacy of many forms of self-defense, including the preemption of clearly imminent attacks, such as Israel's destruction of the Arab armies massing on its borders in the Six Day War of 1967. If the absurdity of Article 51 needs to be made any clearer, think of it this way: In the 1930s, despite his massive military build-up and shocking violations of international law, Hitler would have been protected by Article 51 until the moment

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he invaded Poland. Where Roosevelt and Churchill intended to make it easier to preempt such nascent threats, a stroke of the pen had created a recipe for suicide.

The Charter simply does not reflect the modern reality of international security, which is this: Because of the nature of weapons of mass destruction, rogue regimes suspected of having them must account for their inventories. Without that transparency, we can have no advance warning of any attack, and are left with no alternative but to consider preemptive force.

Security Council Resolution 1441 gave Iraq one last chance to make its weapons programs transparent. But when it became obvious that we would never get transparency in Iraq with Saddam Hussein in power, we had no choice but to invade.

Whether or not the President's doctrine of preemption is technically legal under international law, that doctrine is by definition consistent with the fundamental purpose of the U.N.—"the prevention and removal of threats to the peace." What is inimical to that purpose is the U.N.'s own Charter.

—**Mario Loyola** *is an attorney and writer in Washington, D.C.*

WHERE WESTERN LEFTISTS AND THIRD WORLD FASCISTS MEET

How to account for the toppling of a makeshift statue of George Bush in London during the President's recent visit? The symbolism would seem to indicate a desire for the restoration of Saddam Hussein—whose statue was earlier pulled down by overjoyed Iraqis. How could humane pacifists want such a result?

Similar seethings are seen in the U.S., where many liberal commentators cheerfully declare their Bush hatred. This rage is accompanied by an open dismissal of the large majority of Iraqis who, by the evidence of the polls, welcome the overthrow of Saddam Hussein. Again the signs point to a repressed sympathy for the aspirations of the Third World socialists and anti-Americans of the Baath Party, and a profound fear of what Bush intends to bring to Iraq instead—an experiment in political liberty and economic freedom.

Here we see another example of an unholy alliance between the West's idealistic Left and various totalitarianisms of the Third World. Though British socialists and Islamic strongmen may differ over the specifics of what is good, they are united in their desire for government-enforced laws that ordain "the good" within their societies. Western leftists of all sorts (human rights activists, Greens, anti-globalists, race and gender utopians, class levelers, mandatory recyclers, speed limiters, animal activists, and so on) yearn for a government that would force people to "do the right thing"—through law, regulatory restraints, taxation, entitlements, speech codes, political correctness, and so on. What decent people will often act out freely, utopians on a campaign for "the good" would have the government *compel*. Government mandates, not just appeals to conscience and reason, are what modern Western liberals seek most emphatically.

Strangely, this often leads them to an unconscious sympathy for the likes of Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden. Like those strongmen, Western enthusiasts for "the law of the good" don't want to leave the future to the whims of human freedom. They want rules and regulations.

Suddenly the Bush hatred becomes understandable. As a classic advocate of government as a protector of rights rather than a legislator of goods, Bush threatens all manner of utopians. He would let the "laws of goodness" be offended before he would allow governments to re-order classes or re-engineer societies. Conversely, President Bush is willing to wage war on regimes that trample personal rights, even if they piously bill themselves as promoters of social goodness and ideological purity.

When left-wing protesters in London and elsewhere tear down Bush's effigy they are (consciously or not) expressing a desire to reinstate the messianic, revolutionary, socialist, "anti-imperial" claims that dictators like Saddam, Castro, Mao, and others pay lip service to. Prizing symbolic goodness and purity above the messier results of liberty, these Westerners ally themselves with moral enforcers everywhere. To them, something that is obviously good for people in the abstract should be *forced* to happen.

But in the grand perspective of history, President Bush is on more solid ground. The positions he has adopted are the only ones that have consistently led to large-scale peace, a rough approximation of individual justice, the general prosperity required to make "social justice" an increasingly moot point, and the freedom that makes personal goodness possible in the first place.

—**Fred Turner** *is a professor at the University of Texas at Dallas.*

FINISH THE JOB

Ken Joseph opposed going to war against Saddam Hussein. He even went to Iraq to help do what he could to "stop the war" by serving as a "human shield." Then the soft-spoken minister got what he describes as a "stark dose of reality."

An Assyrian Christian, Joseph has relatives who lived in Iraq during the regime of Saddam Hussein. His change of heart came after visiting them and finding that they wanted the war "to come as soon as possible so they could be freed from the nightmare." Joseph, a pastor, left Iraq when the U.N. personnel pulled out shortly before the commencement of hostilities. He returned with the first postwar relief truck.

Joseph is now seeking the return of lands and citizenship rights stripped away by the previous regime, and is working against forced "Islamization." His new fear is that Americans will leave Iraq before the job of reconstruction is complete.

Joseph is troubled by the behavior of relief agencies and Iraqi civilians who "demand services that were not that good even before the war." He says, "My heart breaks as I look into the exhausted eyes of the service members that have fought their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEWARE THE BLOAT

A research group at Syracuse University found that the newly organized Department of Homeland Security currently employs one out of every 12 federal employees—40 percent of them as airport screeners. The fledgling bureaucracy already has at least one full-time employee in one out of every five of the nation's 3,146 counties.

way across the desert and now have to sit every day and listen to the complaints."

Joseph spent his boyhood in Japan, where his parents emigrated after World War II in answer to General Douglas MacArthur's call for 10,000 American volunteers to help rebuild the nation. He suggests Iraq should follow a similar course as the Asian nation that was transformed from a totalitarian state to a free and democratic society. He recalls that, eventually, Japanese citizens "hugged, kissed, and otherwise thanked" his family for helping rebuild their country.

—**Jeff Gannon** *is Washington bureau chief for* Talon News.

PERVERSE TERROR

Gordon Hamilton Fairley was a cancer specialist in Britain and a pioneer in the therapy of childhood leukemia. On the morning of October 23, 1975 he was walking his dog in London and happened to pass the home of a politician who had angered the IRA. At that moment a car bomb went off, killing the doctor and his dog.

The intended victim was unhurt. He had been delayed by a phone call and was late leaving his house. He had a houseguest whose life was also saved by the fortuitous phone call. She was Caroline Kennedy. Only luck saved the IRA from murdering the daughter of the only Irish Catholic President of the United States.

David Applebaum was a pioneer in emergency medicine in Israel. On the evening of September 9, 2003 he took his daughter to a cafe in Jerusalem. When an Arab terrorist blew himself up, he killed Applebaum, his daughter, and four others.

Israeli hospitals serve Jews and Muslims alike. The extremists who murdered Dr. Applebaum eliminated an outstanding source of emergency care for their co-religionists. But then extremists often hurt their own people and their own cause. They don't care.

Dr. Fairley was 45, Dr. Applebaum 51. They had already made noteworthy contributions to health care. Who can say how much more they would have contributed had they been allowed to live out their natural life spans? Multiply these stories many times over in different parts of the world, and we can see how terrorists hurt humanity even more than we sometimes recognize.

—**David Stolinsky**, *a physician, writes on political and social issues at www.stolinsky.com.*

"PUBLIC LIVES" OF LIBERALS

Conservatives have long suspected that the *New York Times* slants the news to favor liberals, but sometimes the paper's most insidious bias is tucked away in places you might not think to look. The *Times*' "Public Lives" is a regular profile of a notable New York local who either made good or is "doing good," which in *Times*-land means being a left winger.

The *Times* ran 205 "Public Lives" profiles in 2003. A full 26 were sympathetic portrayals of politically active liberals or left-wingers immersed in their advocacy environment, and given free reign to promote their causes without journalistic criticism. Only four dealt with anyone even vaguely right-of-center, and those typically contained far more criticism.

A profile of Charlotte Kates, a Rutgers law student and Palestinian terrorist sympathizer, blandly notes that Kates "will not, for instance, condemn suicide bombings, saying 'it is not our place in the United States to dictate the tactics Palestinian groups use in the liberation struggle.'" Endearing asides about her "weakness for Dr. Pepper" and her Gustav Klimt art posters soften the account.

Admittedly, some of the liberal do-gooders really are doing good: Vanita Gupta worked for the NAACP on a drug case in Tulia, Texas where "more than a tenth of the town's black population was arrested in a drug sting based on the uncorroborated testimony of one out-of-control undercover officer."

But often the stories are nothing more than giving liberals good P.R. One profile headlined, "In a Cowboy Film, He'd Definitely Wear a White Hat" makes liberal New York state politician Jon Cooper out to be a saintly sheriff: "He's an ahead-of-the-curve breed of politician: the first openly gay candidate to run for the Suffolk County Legislature.... He should wear a badge instead of a tie."

A story about Brooklyn judge Gustin Reichbach states: "Over the jury box, he has a picture of Paul Robeson, whose career was largely destroyed by Senator Joseph McCarthy." But McCarthy didn't make his famous speech about communists until 1950. Stalinist actor Robeson's last movie came out in 1942. (The *Times* corrected the story three weeks later.)

An interview with Morton Klein of the Zionist Organization of America was outright critical: "[Klein] also said Arab culture promoted hatred and violence toward Jews in the same way that Nazi culture did. Not surprisingly, Mr. Klein's critics fault him for seeing the world in black and white terms and for smearing his enemies."

You see, Klein doesn't excuse terrorism, doesn't have a picture of a famous Stalinist on his wall, and probably hasn't even appeared in a gay nudie contest. No white cowboy hat for him!

—**Clay Waters** *is director of Times Watch, a project of the Media Research Center.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Live" with TAE

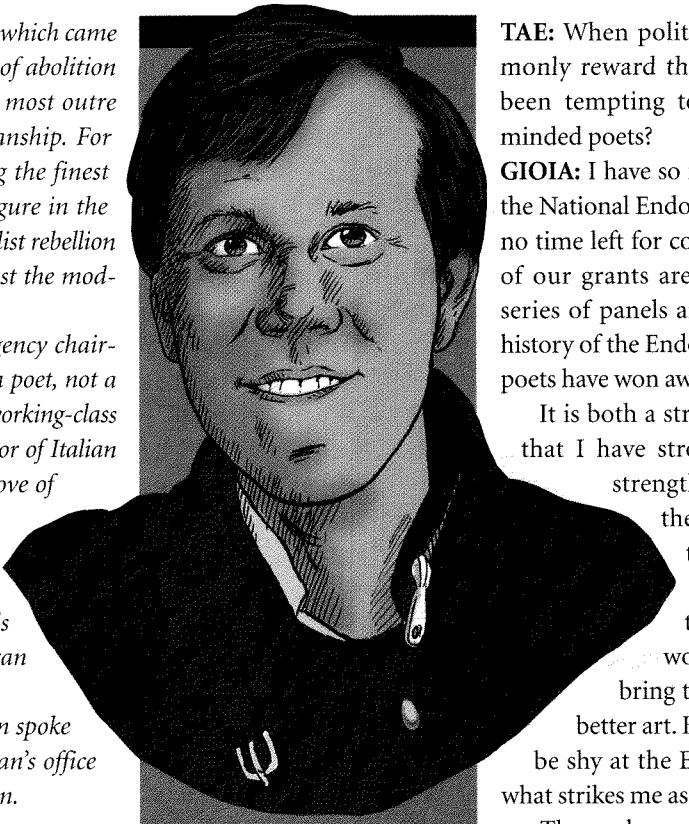
Poets who write in traditional forms and survive outside of academia are as scarce as lighthouse keepers. Add real business experience and a personal mission of national service to his profile and you've described George Bush's chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts—a rara avis.

Dana Gioia

The National Endowment for the Arts, which came within a urine-soaked crucifix or two of abolition in the 1990s, is now embarked on its most outre experiment of all: a poetical chairmanship. For NEA chairman Dana Gioia is among the finest living American poets and a major figure in the "New Formalism," a kind of traditionalist rebellion that promotes meter and rhyme against the modern tyranny of formlessness.

Dana Gioia is the most offbeat agency chairman in the federal government. He is a poet, not a bureaucrat; a literary critic raised in a working-class Mexican-Italian family; and a translator of Italian verse who also writes with a native's love of California, the land of Beach Boys and Raymond Chandler and August hillsides "drained of green." And he is a former vice president of General Foods whose portfolio included such American staples as Jell-O and Kool Aid.

TAE *associate editor Bill Kauffman spoke with Dana Gioia in the NEA chairman's office on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington.*



Politics is full of intelligent, artistic people who have gone astray.

TAE: You are an accomplished, much-admired American poet. How on earth did you end up here?
GIOIA: Poets have historically been famous for being crazy. I sometimes count my presence in Washington as evidence of Plato's theory on that subject. I never intended either to go into politics or come to Washington. I came to the National Endowment for the Arts because I had been repeatedly asked to consider the job. I eventually gave in.
TAE: Have you met any poetry writers or readers in political Washington?
GIOIA: To my satisfaction, I have met a great many readers of poetry and fiction, as well as numerous aficionados of music. Politics is full of intelligent, artistic people who have gone astray.

TAE: When politicians take office, they commonly reward their friends and allies. Has it been tempting to steer money toward like-minded poets?
GIOIA: I have so many challenges in rebuilding the National Endowment for the Arts that I have no time left for corruption and self-interest. All of our grants are given through an elaborate series of panels and evaluations. In the recent history of the Endowment, very few like-minded poets have won awards.

It is both a strength and a weakness for me that I have strong opinions on art. It is a strength because I understand that the quality of a specific work is the only real test of art. There aren't categories of great art, there are only individual great works. The basic insight that I bring to my job is that more art isn't better art. Better art is better art. I will not be shy at the Endowment in trying to fund what strikes me as the best works.

The weakness is that if you have strong opinions on art, it can blind you to other types of excellence. So I try to be conscious that my opinions on painting, music, and literature are in no sense all-encompassing visions of each media.
TAE: "Bureaucracies," you have written, "by their very nature have difficulty measuring something as intangible as literary quality." So should the NEA or state arts agencies make direct grants to writers?
GIOIA: Bureaucracies are inherently ill-suited to make aesthetic judgments. History has demonstrated that evil tyrants, corrupt popes, warrior-kings, and vicious industrial magnates often have brilliant artistic judgment. Committees of experts do not.

The real issue, to me, is a practical one. With

Illustration by Sam Torode

LICENSED TO UMZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

limited dollars at the Endowment, should I give an opera composer an individual grant? Or should I foster American opera by giving grants to organizations which produce opera?

My own considered judgment is that the Endowment better serves the American people by giving grants to organizations. If we fund an individual to write an American opera, he or she may or may not have that opera produced. But if we fund an organization, the composer has his or her work performed; the orchestra gets several weeks of rehearsals and performances plus the experience of doing a new work; the conductor has the experience of producing a new work; a whole cast of singers comes in, originate roles, and perform them; the opera company has the developmental experience of doing a world premiere; and the public is able to see the new work. I can't believe that this collective cultural experience is somehow less valuable than fostering individual creation.

The National Endowment for the Arts has misunderstood its role in American culture. The goal of the NEA is not to serve the American arts establishment. The goal is to serve the American public. Those two missions are not mutually exclusive, but throughout the arts world, there is a tremendous bias toward the individual creator versus the entire artistic community. People in the theater community have criticized the NEA's "Shakespeare in American Communities" program because Shakespeare doesn't get any royalties. By bringing Shakespeare to a hundred midsize and small communities across the United States, I am—some claim—depriving playwrights of royalties. I remind them that the Shakespeare program involves hundreds of actors, producers, directors, set designers, wardrobe designers, and even technical crews. The NEA should not simply focus on individual creators but the entire ecosystem of American culture.

TAE: If my dad goes to a Merle Haggard concert, he pays the market price for a ticket. If David Rockefeller goes to hear the New York Philharmonic, his ticket is partially subsidized by the taxpayers. Is that fair?

GIOIA: All's fair in love, war, and, I hope, art. I am a believer in the free market and I would not want to live in a nation in which the market was not respected. The twentieth century inarguably proved that those nations that have a free market not only have economic prosperity but stronger individual rights.

The artistic legacy of this country needs to be preserved. If the marketplace can't do it, the government should.

Having delivered that panegyric to Adam Smith and his descendants, I would, however, suggest that what culture does is to determine those things which are beyond price, those things which are not to be bought and sold in the marketplace. The artistic legacy of this country needs to be preserved. If the marketplace does not find a way of preserving it, then the federal government rightly should take a role.

The genius of the American system is that the main role the federal government plays in supporting culture is the individual tax deduction, which decentralizes and de-institutionalizes the commission of culture. If you and I think that the first band uniform produced in Batavia, New York deserves preservation, and if we're willing from our pocketbooks to make that call, the federal and state governments end up supporting some percentage of that. That is a wonderfully clever system that avoids the kind of monolithic centralized policy for culture that most other nations have.

No one ever points out the innumerable ways in which popular art is subsidized by federal policy. Copyright laws give popular art enormous economic advantage in the marketplace. When the Girl Scouts have to pay royalties on singing 75-year-old songs around the campfire, the government is not a neutral player. The extension of copyright, known as the Sonny Bono Act, has enriched corporations enormously at the expense of average taxpayers and students.

TAE: Do you like rock 'n roll?

GIOIA: Yes, though having recently gone to an Aimee Mann concert, I find the current levels of amplification unpleasant to my middle-aged ears.

TAE: Who are the best poets in rock?

GIOIA: I've been listening to Bob Dylan since my ill-spent teenage years, and I've recently come to the conclusion that the effect that Bob Dylan has on me is primarily poetic rather than musical. Now, the kind of poetry that Dylan writes would not work if it were recited without the music. Song is a different art form from poetry because in song, the music can communicate the emotion, the mood, the subtext. So I would suggest that Bob Dylan is the greatest lyricist of contemporary music. But he has a great

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deal of competition on a slightly lower slope of Parnassus. Of singers currently writing, Aimee Mann is in a class by herself. Suzanne Vega has a distinguished beginning to her career. Early Joni Mitchell was wonderful; unfortunately, later Joni Mitchell is not so good. Her career demonstrates an unpleasant truth about many rock musicians as well as poets. Poets often have a very short career for their best work. Samuel Taylor Coleridge's great work was written within one decade. The entire second half of Wordsworth's career is almost without interest.

TAE: Do you admire Lou Reed?

GIOIA: My admiration for Lou Reed is limited by Lou Reed's delivery. His songs are inevitably better in cover versions.

TAE: Might rap music, with its emphasis on rhyme and clever—or obscene—word play, give birth 20 years hence to a black poetry renaissance?

GIOIA: It well might. I suspect I am alone among the New Formalists in having a high regard for rap. What interests me about rap is precisely what you're talking about. We've witnessed the creation of a new medium that resembles, in essential qualities, ancient oral poetry. It is exciting to see this new form unfold, not merely in the United States but across the world. Rap is now an international form: I actually heard someone rap in Burmese once.

Oral poetry is always formal, communal, and performative. The basic meter of rap is the four-beat line with a medial pause: essentially the same basic meter as *Beowulf*. Rather than using alliteration, however, rap uses rhyme. Rap also does something quintessentially African American—it syncopates the beat. Part of the performative magic of rap is listening to how many syllables a performer can put between strong beats: I've seen rap lines that go between seven syllables and 21 syllables—just like *Beowulf*.

TAE: Do rock and rap fall within the purview of the NEA?

GIOIA: The National Endowment for the Arts statutorily supports only non-profit institutions. I don't believe that either rock or rap are characterized by their lack of profitability. Though God knows, in their old age, we'll probably be supporting artists in both fields.

TAE: You have written that "the American poetic tradition has never been able to look inside the walls of a corporate office and see what 40 million Americans do during the working week." Why not?

GIOIA: You're quoting from an essay in which I was the first to notice that there had been a long tradition of American businessmen who wrote poetry. Wallace Stevens, the most famous member of this tradition, had characteristically been treated as an anomaly.

There were, in fact, dozens of businessmen-poets in American literature. Not only Stevens but T. S. Eliot, who had been a banker; Archibald MacLeish, who had been a lawyer; James Dickey, who had been an advertising executive; and numerous others. What struck me as curious, however, was that none of these poets had ever written about the business world in any real sense.

As a critic, I'm drawn to paradoxes and contradictions. So what I postulated was that American poetry, for all of its self-advertising as omnivorous, is actually quite limited in its subject matter. Twentieth-century American poetry, despite its realistic posturing, was an outgrowth of romanticism. You can explain most of modern American poetry as a desperate attempt to sustain romanticism in an increasingly unromantic world through extreme imaginative actions. What I longed for in that essay was to expand the traditions of American poetry to include an imagination capacious enough to come to terms with the lives that people actually lead in America.

Contemporary American poetry is terribly embarrassed by the suburbs, although that is exactly the place most Americans choose to live. It seemed to me that in a funny way, the American people were in advance of the American poet in their imaginative embrace of the world.

The same thing is true in business. Most American poets are now government employees. They work in state universities and other educational institutions, but they want to maintain the illusion that they are bohemians unconcerned with matters of money or security. That is largely posturing. (Although American universities, in their recent treatment of adjunct faculty, have done their best to reduce American poets back to poverty.)

By the way, intellectuals don't understand that average people like poems and often know poems by heart. My mother knows dozens of poems by heart. My Mexican grandfather, who spent his youth as a cowboy, knew poems by

I want a poem that can be read backward in time as well as forward, because literature isn't about individuals; it is one of the necessary human conversations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

heart. Only college M.F.A.'s seem not to know poems by heart.

TAE: Are you writing with the same frequency now as you did before you took this job?

GIOIA: I have not written a single line of verse since coming to Washington last year. I work seven days and often six to seven nights a week, and you cannot write well when your mind is preoccupied by official matters. So much of this job is mental: It requires the creation of a vision of what the Endowment could be, and then the meticulous development of that vision, point by point, across the organization. If the chairman lacks a compelling and consistent vision and the power to articulate it, then the agency loses its way.

TAE: Surely ex-Chairman Gioia will poetize this experience.

GIOIA: I hope so. One reason I did not want to take this job was that I knew it would be a hiatus in my literary career. I am a neurotically obsessive reviser of my work. The world does not need more bad poems. I've never sat down and said, "I will write a poem today." Poems have to be strong enough that they push the other things in your life out of the way. I made myself an agreement, when I accepted this job, that I would not worry about writing for at least a year. I hope that in the later years of my chairmanship, if later years there be, I will find some small island of time on which to write poetry.

In the meantime, I look on this as national service. The reason I took this job was the death of my father. I was with my father during the final stages of his life. I sat by his bed the day he died. Shortly thereafter, I was approached for the second time about this job. I realized that my father had not really wanted to go fight World War II. He was the least likely warrior imaginable. He understood, however, that he had a duty to his country, and he spent four years as a radio operator in dive-bombers. He was nearly killed twice.

I have never served in the armed forces. I have never served in government. But I felt that if, after 9/11, the President asked me to serve the country in this capacity, I needed to meet a very genuine sense of civic responsibility. If that meant I had to put aside my own artistic work, then that was the price of such service. I know that sounds terribly old-fashioned, but I'm a very traditional person.

TAE: Do you carry on imaginary conversations with favorite poets?

There aren't categories of great art—there are only individual great works.

GIOIA: Poetry depends on continuing the conversation between the living and the dead. If a poet is good enough at cultivating these conversations, then he or she earns the right to be heard by the unborn.

My formative conversations have been with the dead. I care, as odd as it might sound, what they might think of my poems. I want a poem that can be read backward in time as well as forward in time because although literature is an enterprise sustained by individuals, it is not really about individuals. The most important thing a poet does is to sustain the art of poetry itself as one of the necessary human conversations.

TAE: What would Robinson Jeffers, the anarchist about whom you have written with great understanding, say to you about this job?

GIOIA: I look to Jeffers for clarifying skepticism. But I also look to poets like Robert Frost and W. H. Auden for their understanding of community and citizenship. A poem like Auden's "September 1, 1939" is extraordinarily important to me, not simply for its famous line "we must love one another or die," which expresses essentially a Christian worldview, but more for the final stanza, which comes out of Auden's reading of Augustine's *The City of God*:

> Defenceless under the night
> Our world in stupor lies;
> Yet, dotted everywhere,
> Ironic points of light
> Flash out wherever the Just
> Exchange their messages:
> May I, composed like them
> Of Eros and of dust,
> Beleaguered by the same
> Negation and despair,
> Show an affirming flame.

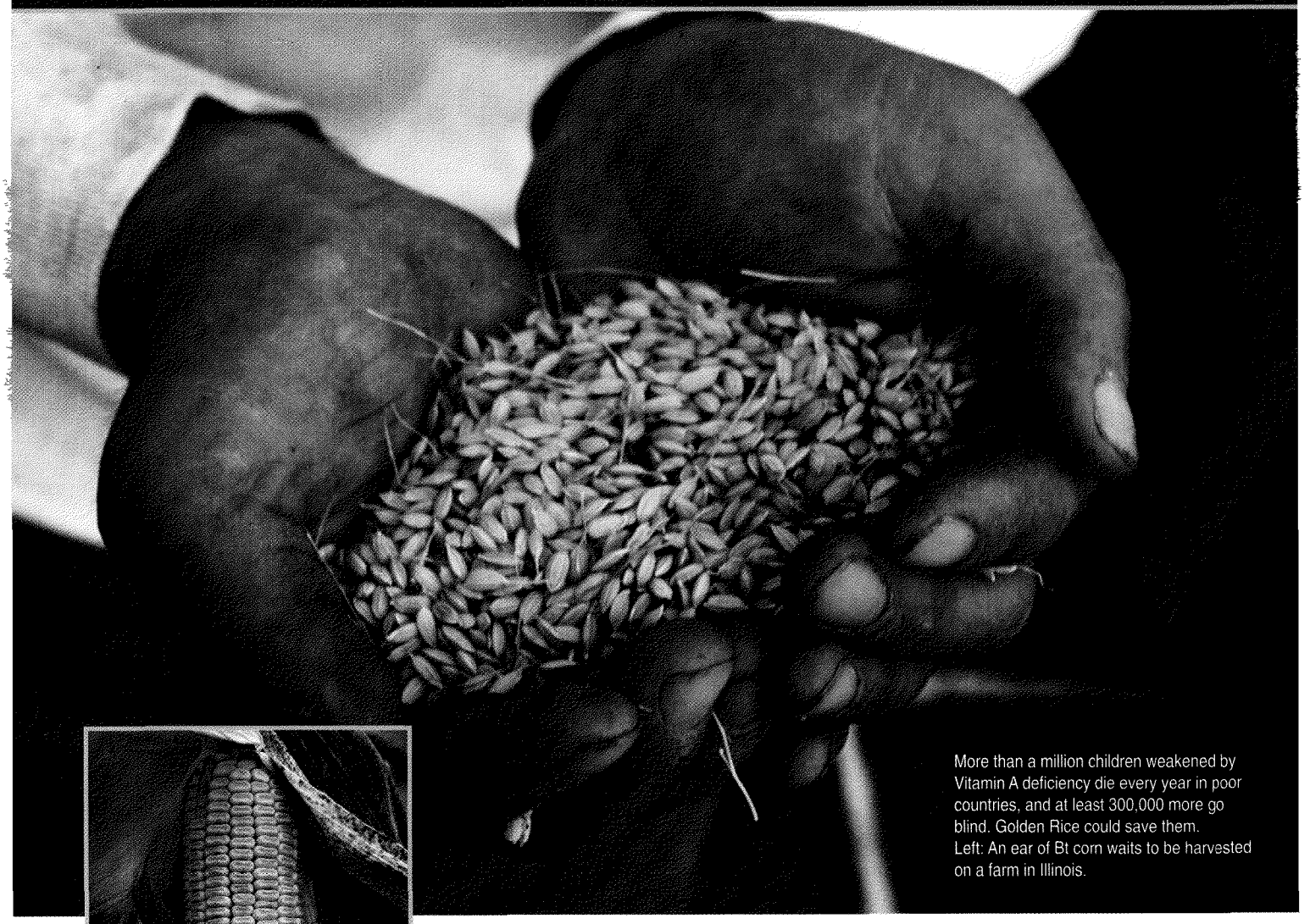
Auden is talking about the vision of the City of God coexisting with the city of man: a moral and imaginative enterprise by people who are dedicating their lives to an idealistic endeavor. What we do as public intellectuals and as artists is to stand aside from the world, to observe and talk about it, but also reach out to the world in affirming our common humanity, with all its glories and despairs.

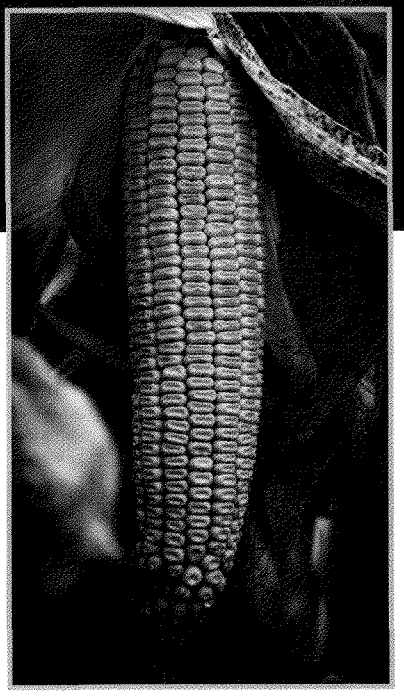
LICENSED TO UMZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Technology for Life:

How Biotech Will Save Billions from Starvation

C. S. Prakash and Gregory Conko





More than a million children weakened by Vitamin A deficiency die every year in poor countries, and at least 300,000 more go blind. Golden Rice could save them. Left: An ear of Bt corn waits to be harvested on a farm in Illinois.

"To deny desperate, hungry people the means to control their futures by presuming to know what is best for them is not only paternalistic but morally wrong.... We want to have the opportunity to save the lives of millions of people and change the course of history in many nations.... The harsh reality is that, without the help of agricultural biotechnology, many will not live."

—Hassan Adamu, Nigerian minister of agricultural and rural development, September 11, 2000.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Today, most people around the world have access to a greater variety of nutritious and affordable foods than ever before, thanks mainly to developments in agricultural science and technology. The average human life span—arguably the most important indicator of quality of life—has increased steadily in the past century in almost every country. Even in many less developed countries, life spans have doubled over the past few decades. Despite massive population growth, from 3 billion to more than 6 billion people since 1950, the global malnutrition rate decreased in that period from 38 percent to 18 percent. India and China, two of the world's most populous and rapidly industrializing countries, have quadrupled their grain production.

The record of agricultural progress during the past century speaks for itself. Countries that embraced superior agricultural technologies have brought unprecedented prosperity to their people, made food vastly more affordable and abundant, helped stabilize farm yields, and reduced the destruction of wild lands. The productivity gains from G.M. crops, as well as improved use of synthetic fertilizers and pesticides, allowed the world's farmers to double global food output during the last 50 years, on roughly the same amount of land, at a time when global population rose more than 80 percent. Without these improvements in plant and animal genetics and other scientific developments, known as the Green Revolution, we would today be farming on every square inch of arable land to produce the same amount of food, destroying hundreds of millions of acres of pristine wilderness in the process.

Many less developed countries in Latin America and Asia benefited tremendously from the Green Revolution. But due to a variety of reasons, both natural and human, agricultural technologies were not spread equally across the globe. Many people in sub-Saharan Africa and parts of South Asia continue to suffer from abject rural poverty driven by poor farm productivity. Some 740 million people go to bed daily on an empty stomach, and nearly 40,000 people—half of them children—die every day of starvation or malnutrition. Unless trends change soon, the number of undernourished could well surpass 1 billion by 2020.

The U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) expects the world's population to grow to more than 8 billion by 2030. The FAO projects that global food production must increase by 60 percent to accommodate the estimated population growth, close nutrition gaps, and allow for dietary changes over the next three decades. Food charity alone simply cannot eradicate hunger. Increased supply—with the help of tools like bioengineering—is crucial.

Although better farm machinery and development of fertilizers, insecticides, and herbicides have been extremely useful, an improved understanding of genetic principles has been the most important factor in improving food production. Every crop is a product of repeated genetic editing by humans over the past few millennia. Our ancestors chose a few once-wild plants and gradually modified them simply by selecting those with the largest, tastiest, or most robust offspring for propagation. Organisms have been altered over the millennia so greatly that traits present in existing populations of cultivated rice, wheat, corn, soy, potatoes, tomatoes and many others, have very little in common with their ancestors. Wild tomatoes and potatoes contain very potent toxins, for example. Today's cultivated varieties have been modified to produce healthy and nutritious food.

Biotechnology has proven safer for the environment than anything since the invention of the plow.

Hybridization, the mating of different plants of the same species, has helped us assimilate desirable traits from several varieties into elite specimens. And when desired characteristics were unavailable in cultivated plants, genes were liberally borrowed from wild relatives and introduced into crop varieties, often of different but related species. Wheat, rye, and barley are regularly mated with wild grass species to introduce new traits. Commercial tomato plants are commonly bred with wild tomatoes to introduce improved resistance to pathogens, nematodes, and fungi. Successive generations then have to be carefully backcrossed into the commercial cultivars to eliminate any unwanted traits accidentally transferred from the wild plants, such as toxins common in the wild species.

Even when crop and wild varieties refuse to mate, various tricks can be used to produce "wide crosses" between two plants that are otherwise sexually incompatible. Often, though, the embryos created by wide crosses die before they mature, so they must be "rescued" and cultured in a laboratory. Even then, the rescued embryos typically produce sterile offspring. They can only be made fertile again by using chemicals that cause the plants to mutate and produce a duplicate set of chromosomes. The plant triticale, an artificial hybrid of wheat and rye, is one such example of a wide-cross hybrid made possible solely by the existence of embryo rescue and chromosome doubling techniques. Triticale is now grown on over 3 million acres worldwide, and dozens of other products of wide-cross hybridization are common.

When a desired trait cannot be found within the existing gene pool, breeders can create new variants by intentionally mutating plants with radiation, with chemicals, or simply by culturing clumps of cells in a Petri dish and leaving them to mutate spontaneously during cell division. Mutation breeding has been in common use since the 1950s, and more than 2,250

C. S. Prakash is professor of plant biotechnology at Tuskegee University, Alabama and president of the AgBioWorld Foundation. Gregory Conko is director of Food Safety Policy at the Competitive Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C. and vice president of the AgBioWorld Foundation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

known mutant varieties have been bred in at least 50 countries, including France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States. A relatively new mutant wheat variety, made to be resistant to a commercial herbicide, was put on the market in the U.S. as recently as July 2003.

Recombinant DNA (rDNA) methods are a recent extension of the myriad techniques that have been employed to modify and improve crops. The primary difference is that modern bioengineered crops involve a precise transfer of one or two known genes into plant DNA—a surgical alteration of a tiny part of the crop's genome compared to the traditional sledgehammer approaches, which bring about gross genetic changes, many of which are unknown and unpredictable.

Leading scientists around the world have attested to the health and environmental safety of agricultural biotechnology, and they have called for bioengineered crops to be extended to those who need them most—hungry people in the developing world. Dozens of scientific and health associations, including the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, the American Medical Association, the U.K.'s Royal Society, and the United Nations Development Programme, have endorsed the technology. Nearly 3,500 eminent scientists from all around the world, including 24 Nobel laureates, have signed a declaration supporting the use of agricultural biotechnology. And a review of 81 separate research projects conducted over 15 years—all funded by the European Union—found that bioengineered crops and foods are at least as safe for the environment and for human consumption as conventional crops, and in some cases even safer.

Every crop is a product of repeated genetic editing by humans over the past few millennia.

Crops enhanced through modern biotechnology are now grown on nearly 143 million acres in 16 countries. More important, more than three quarters of the 5.5 million growers who benefit from bioengineered crops are resource-poor farmers in the developing world. Unremarkably, most commercially available biotech plants were designed for farmers in the industrialized world. They include varieties of corn, soybean, potato, and cotton modified to resist insect pests, plant diseases, and to make weed control easier. However, the increasing adoption of bioengineered varieties by farmers in developing countries over the past few years has shown that they can benefit at least as much as, if not more than, their industrialized counterparts. The productivity of farmers everywhere is limited by crop pests and diseases—and these are often far worse in tropical and subtropical regions than the temperate zones.

About 20 percent of plant productivity in the industrialized world, and up to 40 percent in Africa and Asia, is lost to insects and pathogens, despite the ongoing use of copious amounts of pesticides. The European corn borer destroys approximately 7 percent, or 40 million tons, of the world's corn crop each year—equivalent to the annual food supply for 60 million people. So it comes as no surprise that, when they are permitted to grow bioengineered varieties, poor farmers in less developed nations have eagerly snapped them up. According to the International Service for the Acquisition of Agri-Biotech Applications, farmers in less developed countries now grow nearly one quarter of the world's bioengineered crops on more than 26 million acres.

Bioengineered plants have also had other important benefits for farmers in less developed countries. In China, where pesticides are typically sprayed on crops by hand, some 400 to 500 cotton farmers die every year from acute pesticide poisoning. Researchers at Rutgers University and the Chinese Academy of Sciences found that using bioengineered cotton in China has lowered the amount of pesticides by more than 75 percent and reduced the number of pesticide poisonings by an equivalent amount. Another study by economists at the University of Reading in Britain found that South African cotton farmers have seen similar benefits.

The reduction in pesticide spraying also means that fewer natural resources are consumed to manufacture and transport the chemicals. In 2000 alone, U.S. farmers growing bioengineered cotton used 2.4 million fewer gallons of fuel and 93 million fewer gallons of water, and were spared some 41,000 ten-hour days needed to apply pesticide.

Soon, many bioengineered varieties that have been created specifically for use in underdeveloped countries will be ready for commercialization. Examples include insect-resistant rice for Asia, virus-resistant sweet potato for Africa, and virus-resistant papaya for Caribbean nations. The next generation of bioengineered crops now in research labs around the world is poised to bring even further improvements for the poor soils and harsh climates that are characteristic of impoverished regions. Scientists have already identified genes resistant to environmental stresses common in tropical nations, including tolerance to soils with high salinity and to those that are particularly acidic or alkaline.

The primary reason why Africa never benefited from the Green Revolution is that plant breeders focused on improving crops such as rice, wheat, and corn, which are not widely grown in Africa. Also, much of the African dry lands have little rainfall and no potential for irrigation, both of which played essential roles in the success stories for crops such as Asian rice. Furthermore, the remoteness of many African villages and the poor transportation infrastructure in landlocked African countries make it difficult for African farmers to obtain agricultural chemical inputs such as fertilizers, insecticides, and herbicides—even if they could be donated by charities, or if they had the money to purchase them. But, by packaging technological inputs within seeds, biotechnology can provide the same, or better, productivity advantage as chemical or mechanical inputs, and in a much

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more user-friendly manner. Farmers would be able to control insects, viral or bacterial pathogens, extremes of heat or drought, and poor soil quality, just by planting these crops.

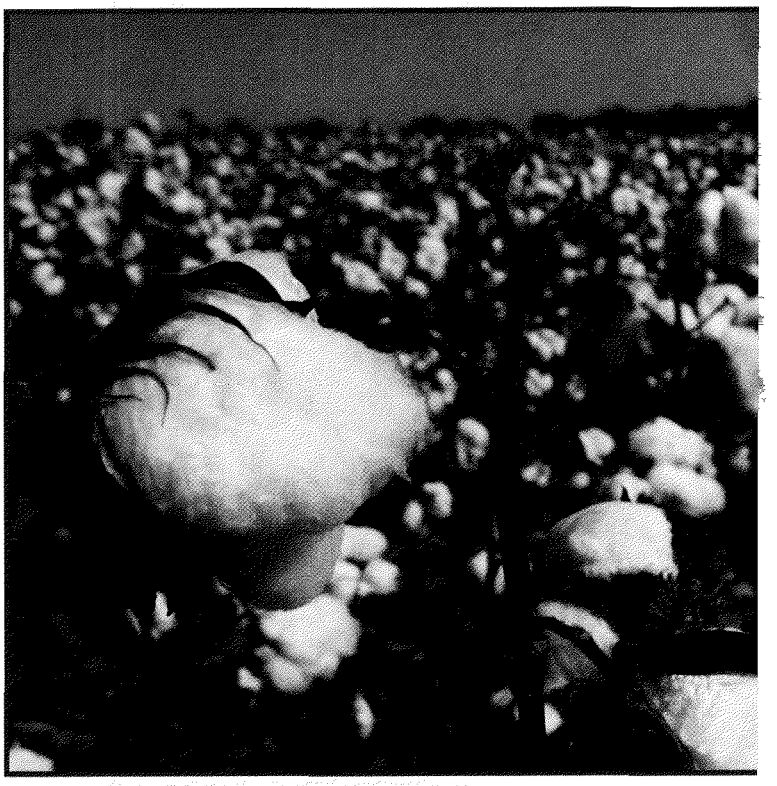
Still, anti-biotechnology activists like Vandana Shiva of the New Delhi-based Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology, and Miguel Altieri of the University of California at Berkeley, argue that poor farmers in less developed nations will never benefit from biotechnology because it is controlled by multinational corporations. According to Altieri, "Most innovations in agricultural biotechnology have been profit-driven rather than need-driven. The real thrust of the genetic engineering industry is not to make Third World agriculture more productive, but rather to generate profits."

That sentiment is not shared by the thousands of academic and public sector researchers actually working on biotech applications in those countries. Cyrus Ndiritu, former director of the Kenyan Agricultural Research Institute, argues, "It is not the multinationals that have a stranglehold on Africa. It is hunger, poverty and deprivation. And if Africa is going to get out of that, it has got to embrace" biotechnology.

Biotechnology also offers hope of improving the nutritional benefits of many foods. The next generation of bioengineered products now in development is poised to bring direct health benefits to consumers through enhanced nutritive qualities that include more and higher-quality protein, lower levels of saturated fat, increased vitamins and minerals, and many others. Bioengineering can also reduce the level of natural toxins (such as in cassava and kidney beans) and eliminate certain allergens from foods like peanuts, wheat, and milk. Many of these products are being developed primarily or even exclusively for subsistence farmers and consumers in poor countries.

Among the most well known is Golden Rice—genetically enhanced with added beta carotene, which is converted to Vitamin A in the human body. Another variety developed by the same research team has elevated levels of digestible iron. The diet of more than 3 billion people worldwide includes inadequate levels of essential vitamins and minerals, such as Vitamin A and iron. Deficiency in just these two micronutrients can result in severe anemia, impaired intellectual development, blindness, and even death. Even though charities and aid agencies such as the United Nations Children's Fund and the World Health Organization have made important strides in reducing Vitamin A and iron deficiency, success has been fleeting. No permanent effective strategy has yet been devised, but Golden Rice may finally provide one.

The Golden Rice project is a prime example of the value of extensive public sector and charitable research. The rice's development was funded mainly by the New York-based Rockefeller Foundation, which has promised to make the rice available to poor farmers at little or no cost. Scientists at public universities in Switzerland and Germany created it with assistance from the Philippines-based International Rice Research Institute and from several multinational corporations. Scientists at publicly funded, charitable, and corporate research centers are developing many other similar crops. Indian scientists, for example, have recently announced that they would soon make a new high-protein potato variety available for commercial cultivation.



Newscom.com/Scott Olson/Getty Images

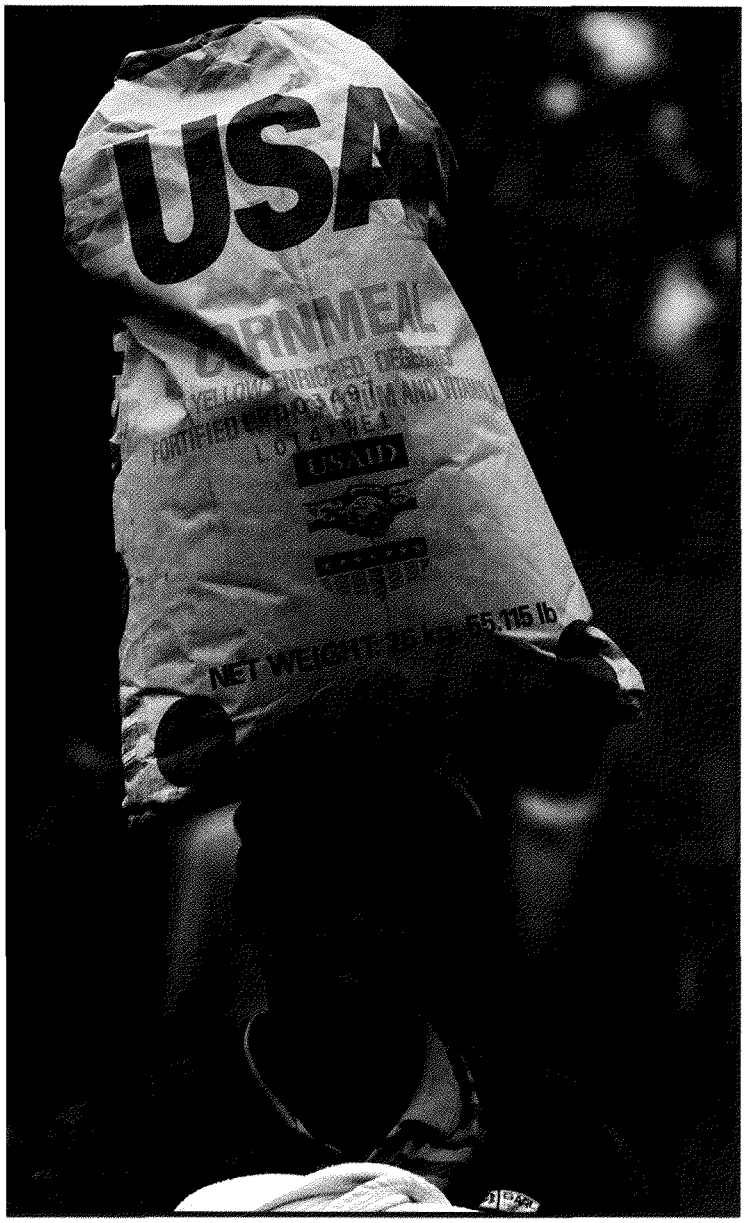
A field of G.M. cotton in Mississippi. The government mandates that at least 20 percent be planted with conventional cotton to help prevent insects from developing an immunity to the G.M. products.

Research is already under way on fruits and vegetables that could one day deliver life-saving vaccines—such as a banana with the vaccine for Hepatitis B, and a potato that provides immunization against diarrheal diseases.

It is true that certain aspects of modern farming have had a negative impact on biodiversity and on air, soil, and water quality. But biotechnology has proven safer for the environment than anything since the invention of the plow. The risk of cross-pollination from crops to wild relatives has always existed, and such "gene flow" occurs whenever crops grow in close proximity to sexually compatible wild relatives. Yet, breeders have continuously introduced genes for disease and pest resistance through conventional breeding into all of our crops. Traits, such as stress tolerance and herbicide resistance, have also been introduced in some crops with conventional techniques, and the growth habits of every crop have been altered. Thus, not only is gene modification a common phenomenon, but so are many of the specific kinds of changes made with rDNA techniques.

Naturally, with both conventional and rDNA-enhanced breeding, we must be vigilant to ensure that newly introduced plants do not become invasive and that weeds do not become

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A Zimbabwean woman carries a bag of food aid donated by the United States. Millions of others will depend on such aid. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell has scolded African leaders who refused to accept genetically modified corn as aid.

Newscom.com/Reuters Photo Archive

noxious because of genetic modification. Similarly, we must ensure that target genes are safe for human and animal consumption before they are transferred. But, while modern genetic modification expands the range of new traits that can be added to crop plants, it also ensures that more will be known about those traits and that the behavior of the modified plants will be, in many ways, easier to predict.

The biggest threats that hungry populations currently face are restrictive policies stemming from unwarranted public fears. Although most Americans tend to support agricultural biotechnology, many Europeans and Asians have been far more cautious. Anti-biotechnology campaigners in both industrialized and less developed nations are feeding this ambivalence with scare stories that have led to the adoption of restrictive policies. Those fears are simply not supported by the scores of peer-reviewed scientific reports or the data from tens of thousands of individual field trials.

In the end, over-cautious rules result in hyper-inflated research and development costs and make it harder for poorer countries to share in the benefits of biotechnology. No one argues that we should not proceed with caution, but needless restrictions on agricultural biotechnology could dramatically slow the pace of progress and keep important advances out of the hands of people who need them. This is the tragic side effect of unwarranted concern.

In 2002, Zambian President Levy Mwanawasa rejected some 23,000 metric tons of food aid in the midst of a two-year-long drought that threatened the lives of over 2 million Zambians. President Mwanawasa's public explanation was that the bioengineered corn from the United States was "poisonous." Other Zambian government officials conceded that the bigger concern was for future corn exports to the European Union, which observes a moratorium on new G.M. foods.

Zambia is not unique. European biotechnology restrictions have had other, similar consequences throughout the developing world. Thai government officials have been reluctant to authorize any bioengineered rice varieties, even though it has spent heavily on biotechnology research. Uganda has stopped research on bioengineered bananas and postponed their introduction indefinitely. Argentina has limited its approvals to the two bioengineered crop varieties that are already permitted in European markets.

Even China, which has spent hundreds of millions of dollars funding advanced biotechnology research, has refused to authorize any new bioengineered food crops since the European Union's moratorium on bioengineered crop approvals began in 1998. More recently, the International Rice Research Institute, which has been assigned the task of field-testing Golden Rice, has indefinitely postponed its plans for environmental release in the Philippines, fearing backlash from European-funded NGO protestors. Still, the E.U. moratorium continues to persist after five long years, despite copious evidence, including from the E.U.'s own researchers, that biotech modification does not pose any risks that aren't also present in other crop-breeding methods.

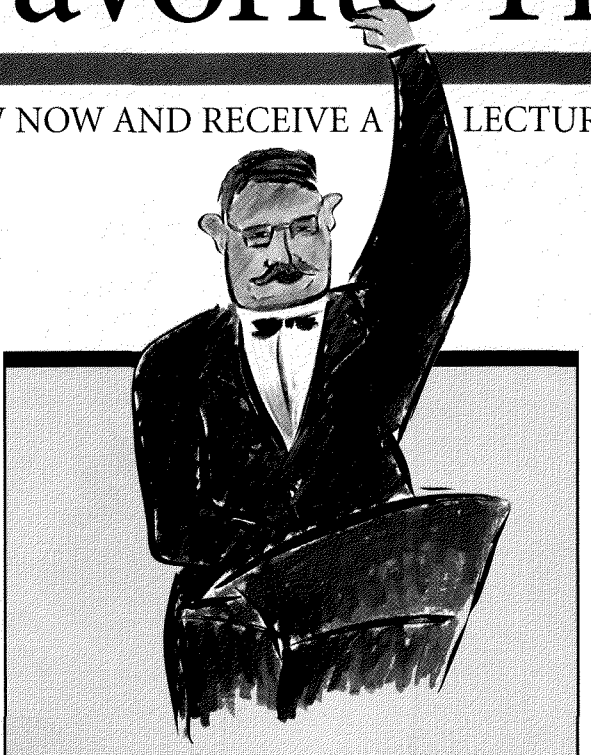
Of course, hunger and malnutrition are not solely caused by a shortage of food. The primary causes of hunger in some countries have been political unrest and corrupt governments, poor transportation and infrastructure and, of course, poverty. All of these problems must be addressed if we are to ensure real, worldwide food security.

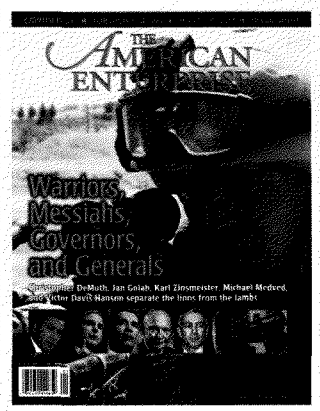
But during the next 50 years, the global population is expected to rise by 50 percent—to 9 billion people, almost entirely in the poorest regions of the world. And producing enough to feed these people will require the use of the invaluable gift of biotechnology.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Get A Free Lecture by Your Favorite Thinker

SUBSCRIBE OR RENEW NOW AND RECEIVE A LECTURE OF YOUR CHOICE!





Start a one-year subscription to *The American Enterprise,* or extend your existing subscription (in either case at our standard one-year price of $28), and **we'll send you the lecture of your choice at no extra charge.**

Fill in your subscriber's information. Then mark the free talk you'd like, and we'll send it at the same time we process your subscription order.

PULL UP A SEAT AT A LIVE EVENT:

- ☐ Charles Murray—"The Connection Between Faith and Human Greatness"
- ☐ Karl Zinsmeister & John Zogby—"Summary of Results of the First Scientific Opinion Poll in Iraq," polling by *TAE* in four Iraqi cities
- ☐ Karl Zinsmeister—"True Lessons of the Iraq War," 80 minutes of radio reporting live from Middle Eastern battlefields
- ☐ Vice President Cheney—"An Update on the War on Terror"
- ☐ Gregg Easterbrook—"Health, the Environment, and Life in General are Better. So Why Aren't We Happy?"
- ☐ Joshua Muravchik, Irving Kristol, Andrew Sullivan, Charles Krauthammer—"Heaven on Earth: The Rise and Fall of Socialism"
- ☐ James Bowman—"Is Honor Dead?"
- ☐ George Will, Irving Kristol, and Michael Novak on "Religion and the American Revolution"
- ☐ Irving Kristol—"American Neo-Conservatism"
- ☐ Michael Barone—"Ethnicity in America, 1900 and 2000"
- ☐ Michael Medved vs. David Horowitz—"TV: Pro & Con"
- ☐ Thomas Sowell—"The Quest for Cosmic Justice"
- ☐ Thomas Sowell—"The Hazards of Cultural Diversity"
- ☐ George Will—"The Problem with Populism"
- ☐ John Lott—"More Guns, Less Crime"
- ☐ Michael Medved—"The Problem with Hollywood"
- ☐ P. J. O'Rourke and Robert Bork—"Live" with *The American Enterprise*

Mail this ad to:
The American Enterprise
109 Briarcliffe Road, Dewitt, New York 13214
OR fax to 315-449-3242 OR go to
www.TAEmag.com/subscriptions/pageID.36/default.asp

☐ Please start my one-year subscription to *The American Enterprise.* (AFCJF4)

☐ Please extend my current subscription by one year. (EFCJF4)

☐ I'd prefer audio CD
☐ I'd prefer cassette tape

Name .....

Address .....

.....

City .....

State/Zip .....

Phone. .....

☐ Check for $28 (made out to *The American Enterprise*) enclosed.

☐ Bill my VISA/MC/AMEX

Card # .....

Expires .....

Phone .....

Sign. .....

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
TAEmag.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Genetic Kingdom:

Reaping the Bounties of Our Biotech Future

By Lester Crawford

These piglets might one day save your life.

Today's biotechnology includes the use of genetically modified animals in medicine; in the production of special foods, human drugs, and medical devices; in the development of animal and industrial products; and in insect-based pest and disease control. Bioengineered animals are now commonly used for the exploration of medical questions that cannot be readily studied otherwise, such as the mechanisms of both normal physiology and disease in humans and animals. Special pigs, for example, are often used to model human disease, because the size and function of their organs are similar to those of humans. One example is a pig strain bioengineered to test retinitis pigmentosa, a progressive disease that begins with night blindness, and affects between 100,000 and 400,000 people in the U.S. The pig model is intended to help develop drugs to slow the onset and progression of the disease.

Other bioengineered laboratory models include rodents, to study how inborn errors cause disease. Insects and fish are also employed to study disease or population dynamics. Drosophila melanogaster, the common fruit fly some of us remember from our college days, is often bioengineered as a model for developmental studies. Transgenic zebrafish and Amazon mollies are used to study effects of ultraviolet irradiation on melanomas.

More familiar—and controversial—is the use of bioengineered animals to produce certain foods and medical products. Cows can be genetically engineered to make several kinds of specialized milk. They can produce milk with lower levels of a protein that may make the milk more suitable for up to 6 percent of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U.S. infants and others allergic to regular cow milk. They can also produce milk that's more digestible for people who are lactose intolerant; milk that has more naturally occurring antimicrobial enzymes, which increase the milk's shelf life; and milk with altered proteins such as caseins, or with lower water content, which facilitates cheese production. Fish can also be modified to make them more nutritious. One example is the modification of rainbow trout to increase the amount of their omega-3 fatty acids, which can help prevent heart attacks. Within the next few years, we're likely to see many more such products.

Genetic engineering can also develop animals capable of producing therapeutic proteins. In general, these proteins will be produced in the milk of cows, sheep, or goats; in chicken eggs; in the semen of swine; or in blood of various large farm species. The advantage of producing these proteins in animals—rather than in cell or tissue cultures, plants, or microorganisms—is significant. The proteins are better adapted to human use, and the yields are higher. In addition, the post-development costs are lower, because raising a herd of dairy cows is cheaper than building and maintaining a bioreactor facility.

The production of the protein alpha-1-antitrypsin in sheep's milk is a good example. This is a human blood protein used to treat hereditary emphysema, cystic fibrosis, and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, believed to affect more than 200,000 people in the U.S. and Europe. This product is already in clinical trials in Europe. Bioengineered animals could also be useful as a source of transplant organs and for medical products such as spider silk made from goat's milk for sturdy sutures, as replacement tendons, or even for bulletproof vests. Genetic engineering of animals is also being used to create faster-growing, bigger, nutrition-enhanced, or disease-resistant salmon, shellfish, pigs, and many other animals. Several approaches are being investigated to modify mosquitoes so they can't spread malaria or certain fevers. There are also techniques that enhance the predatory behavior of certain mites against others that infest plants, which could reduce the use of pesticides.

The Food and Drug Administration is familiar with the risks of biotechnology. We are aware that using genetically altered animals for food raises serious safety concerns that must be addressed through rigorous, science-based analysis. Bioactive compounds are a good example. They include growth hormones, proteins that aid in resisting disease, and even proteins of pharmaceutical interest. If these proteins are present in edible tissues of transgenic animals, they might pose a food safety risk.

Allergic reactions are another concern. The risk of adverse reactions is raised whenever foods contain new proteins from genetically modified organisms, regardless of whether their source is an animal, plant, or microorganism such as yeast or bacteria.

When it comes to technologies that use viral sequences to introduce new genes, we must consider the possibility that a viral vector used to create some desired trait could recombine with existing viruses in the animal and create a new pathogen. Yet another hazard may arise when the insertion of a gene produces unintended adverse outcomes, known as "pleiotropic effects." These result from the disruption of a cell's normal function, and may lead to cell death. There is also the possibility that biotech products are mishandled through human negligence or error.

How will the FDA cope with the large-scale introduction of products as technologically advanced, highly beneficial, and yet potentially risky as genetically altered animals? We have over a decade of experience in examining more than 50 edible products made from genetically modified plants. The FDA also has a century-long record of determining food safety.

The success of G.M. products is crucially dependent on transparency and producers' communication with the public.

Our goal is to make sure that a new product is as safe as its natural counterpart. The FDA has ample experience, as well as legal authority and guidance, for ensuring the safety and effectiveness of drugs, biological medications, and medical devices, and it would use these same resources to evaluate products manufactured with the help of transgenic animals.

But what about other concerns, including the critical question whether, and to what extent, the safety of the environment would be put at risk by genetically altered animals? And what about risks to the animals themselves? The FDA has yet to answer these questions by approving or disapproving the application for marketing of any transgenic animal.

Not much is known about the FDA's vigorous efforts to help ensure the safety of biotechnology. Two years ago we requested that animal cloners withhold any food products made from clones and their progeny until the FDA evaluates potential safety issues. Just like human twins who share the same genome, animal clones are not exact copies, and we need time to collect data for informed decisions about the potential risks these animals may pose to other animals or, as a source of food, to people. We are now finishing food consumption and animal health risk assessments for animal clones, and plan to make them available for public comment. The FDA has also commissioned the National Academy of Sciences to review potential risks of products of genetically modified animals.

The ultimate success of G.M. products is crucially dependent on transparency and producers' communication with the media and the public. The FDA is committed to ensuring that biotech products are safe and that alarming talk about "Frankenfood" is recognized as idle talk that can only do damage.

Lester Crawford is deputy commissioner of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Green Case for Biotech:

Resisting the anti-science, anti-human obstructions of environmentalists

By Patrick Moore

Demonstrators including Greenpeace and the French "Confederation Paysanne" (Peasants Confederation) gathered across France as part of a worldwide day of protest on April 17, 2001 to demand a stop to genetically engineered crops.

Newscom.com/AFP Pierre Andrieu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I was raised in the tiny fishing and logging village of Winter Harbour on the northwest tip of Vancouver Island, where salmon spawned in the streams of the adjoining Pacific rainforest. In school I discovered ecology, and realized that through science I could gain insight into the natural beauties I had known as a child. In the late 1960s I was transformed into a radical environmental activist. A rag-tag group of activists and I sailed a leaky old halibut boat across the North Pacific to block the last hydrogen bomb tests under President Nixon. In the process I co-founded Greenpeace.

By the mid 1980s my interest was in "sustainable development" that would take environmental ideas and incorporate them into the traditional social and economic values that govern public policy and our daily behavior. Every morning, 6 billion people wake up with real needs for food, energy, and materials. The challenge is to provide for those needs in ways that reduce negative impact on the environment while also being socially acceptable and technically and economically feasible. Compromise and cooperation among environmentalists, the government, industry, and academia are essential for sustainability.

Not all my former colleagues saw things that way, however. Many environmentalists rejected consensus politics and sustainable development in favor of continued confrontation, ever-increasing extremism, and left-wing politics. At the beginning of the modern environmental movement, Ayn Rand published *Return of the Primitive*, which contained an essay by Peter Schwartz titled "The Anti-Industrial Revolution." In it, he warned that the new movement's agenda was anti-science, anti-technology, and anti-human. At the time, he didn't get a lot of attention from the mainstream media or the public. Environmentalists were often able to produce arguments that sounded reasonable, while doing good deeds like saving whales and making the air and water cleaner.

But now the chickens have come home to roost. The environmentalists' campaign against biotechnology in general, and genetic engineering in particular, has clearly exposed their intellectual and moral bankruptcy. By adopting a zero tolerance policy toward a technology with so many potential benefits for humankind and the environment, they have lived up to Schwartz's predictions. They have alienated themselves from scientists, intellectuals, and internationalists. It seems inevitable that the media and the public will, in time, see the insanity of their position. As my friend Klaus Ammann likes to hope, "maybe biotech will be the Waterloo for Greenpeace and their allies." Then again, maybe that's just wishful thinking.

On October 15, 2001 I found myself sitting in my office in Vancouver after Greenpeace activists in Paris successfully prevented me from speaking via videoconference to 400 delegates of the European Seed Association. The Greenpeacers chained themselves to the seats in the Cine Cite Bercy auditorium and threatened to shout down the speakers. The venue was hastily shifted elsewhere, but the videoconferencing equipment couldn't be set up at the new location, leading to the cancellation of my keynote presentation.

The issue, in this case, was the application of biotechnology to agriculture and genetic modification. The conference in Paris was a meeting of delegates from seed companies, biotechnology companies, and government agencies involved in regulation throughout Europe. Surely these are topics covered by the rules of free speech.

Had those rules not been violated, I would have told the assembled that the accusations of "Frankenstein food" and "killer tomatoes" are as much a fantasy as the Hollywood movies they are borrowed from. I would have argued that, if adding a daffodil gene to rice in order to produce a genetically modified strain of rice can prevent half a million children from going blind each year, then we should move forward carefully to develop it. I would have told them that Greenpeace policy on genetics lacks any respect for logic or science.

The risk of not allowing farmers to grow Golden Rice is that another 2.5 million children will probably go blind.

In 2001, the European Commission released the results of 81 scientific studies on genetically modified organisms conducted by over 400 research teams at a cost of U.S. $65 million. The studies, which covered all areas of concern, have "not shown any new risks to human health or the environment, beyond the usual uncertainties of conventional plant breeding. Indeed, the use of more precise technology and the greater regulatory scrutiny probably make them even safer than conventional plants and foods." Clearly my former Greenpeace colleagues are either not reading the morning paper or simply don't care about the truth. And they choose to silence by force those of us who do care about it.

The campaign of fear now waged against genetic modification is based largely on fantasy and a complete lack of respect for science and logic. In the balance it is clear that the real benefits of genetic modification far outweigh the hypothetical and sometimes contrived risks claimed by its detractors.

The programs of genetic research and development now under way in labs and field stations around the world are entirely about benefiting society and the environment. Their purpose is to improve nutrition, to reduce the use of synthetic chemicals, to increase the productivity of our farmlands and forests, and to improve human health. Those who have adopted a zero tolerance attitude towards genetic modification threaten to deny these many benefits by playing on fear of the unknown and fear of change.

The case of "Golden Rice" provides a clear illustration of this. Hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Africa suffer from Vitamin A deficiency. Among them, half a million children lose their eyesight each year, and millions more suffer from lesser symptoms.

Patrick Moore is chairman and chief scientist of Greenspirit Strategies, an environmental consulting agency.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Golden Rice has the potential to greatly reduce the suffering, because it contains the gene that makes daffodils yellow, infusing the rice with beta-carotene, the precursor to Vitamin A. Ingo Potrykus, the Swiss co-inventor of Golden Rice, has said that a commercial variety is now available for planting, but that it will be at least five years before Golden Rice will be able to work its way through the byzantine regulatory system that has been set up as a result of the activists' campaign of misinformation and speculation. So the risk of not allowing farmers in Africa and Asia to grow Golden Rice is that another 2.5 million children will probably go blind.

What is the risk of allowing this humanitarian intervention to be planted? What possible risk could there be from a daffodil gene in a rice paddy? Yet Greenpeace activists threaten to rip the G.M. rice out of the fields if farmers dare to plant it. They have done everything they can to discredit the scientists and the technology, claiming that it would take nine kilos of rice per day to deliver sufficient Vitamin A. Potrykus has demonstrated that only 100 grams of Golden Rice would provide 50 percent of the daily need.

The fear campaign against genetic modification rests on fantasy and a complete lack of respect for science and logic.

Golden Rice is not the only example of civilization being held hostage by activists. Since its introduction to Chinese agriculture in 1996, G.M. cotton has grown to occupy one third of the total area planted in what is northern China's most important cash crop. This particular variety, called Bt cotton, has been modified to resist the cotton bollworm, its most destructive pest worldwide.

On June 3, 2002 Greenpeace issued a media release announcing the publication of a report on the "adverse environmental impacts of Bt cotton in China." In typical Greenpeace hyperbole, we were advised that "farmers growing this crop are now finding themselves engulfed in Bt-resistant superbugs, emerging secondary pests, diminishing natural enemies, destabilized insect ecology," and that farmers are "forced to continue the use of chemical pesticides."

Let's examine these allegations one at a time:

• Bt-Resistant Superbugs: There is not a single example or shred of evidence in the Greenpeace report of actual bollworm resistance to Bt cotton in the field. There is evidence from lab studies in which bollworms were force-fed Bt cotton leaves, but any scientist knows that this kind of experiment will eventually result in selection for resistance. Greenpeace, however, is claiming selection for resistance has actually happened to farmers in the field. According to Professors Shirong Jia and Yufa Peng of the Chinese National GMO Biosafety Committee, "no resistance of cotton bollworm to Bt has been discovered yet after five years of Bt cotton planting. Resistant insect strains have been obtained in laboratories but not in field conditions." So much for the superbugs.

• Emerging Secondary Pests: Greenpeace points out that there are more aphids, spiders, and other secondary insect pests in fields of Bt cotton than in conventional cotton. This is called an "adverse" impact in their report. The fact is, because Bt cotton requires much less chemical pesticide than conventional cotton, these other insects can survive better in Bt cotton fields. For the scientifically literate, this reduction of impact on non-target insects is actually considered one of the environmental *benefits* of G.M. crops. How Greenpeace figures this is "adverse" is beyond comprehension.

• Diminishing Natural Enemies: The Greenpeace media release states that there are fewer of the bollworm's natural predators and parasites in Bt cotton fields compared to conventional cotton, and calls this an "adverse impact." Again, a careful read of the report comes up with no evidence for this claim. And again, according to Professors Jia and Peng, "as of today, there are no adverse impacts reported on natural parasitic enemies in the Bt cotton fields." And after all, isn't it a bit obvious that if using Bt cotton reduces bollworm populations, that bollworm parasite populations will also be reduced? Will Greenpeace now embark on an international campaign to "save the bollworm parasites"?

• Destabilized Insect Ecology: This one is a hoot. To speak of "insect ecology" in a monoculture cotton field that was sprayed with chemicals up to 17 times a year *before* the introduction of Bt cotton is ridiculous. The main impact of Bt cotton has been to reduce chemical pesticide use and therefore to reduce impacts on non-target species.

• Farmers Forced to Continue Using Chemical Pesticides: This claim gets the Most Misleading and Dishonest Award. No, Bt resistance does not provide 100 percent protection. Because secondary pests sometimes need to be controlled, farmers using Bt cotton usually use some pesticides during the growing cycle. Professors Jia and Peng sum it up this way: "The greatest environmental impact of Bt cotton was...a significant reduction (70-80 percent) of the chemical pesticide use. It is known that pesticides used in cotton production in China are estimated to be 25 percent of the total amount of pesticides used in all the crops. By using Bt cotton in 2000 in Shandong province alone, the reduction of pesticide use was 1,500 tons. It not only reduced the environmental pollution, but also reduced the rate of harmful accidents to humans and animals caused by the overuse of pesticides."

The Greenpeace report is a classic example of the use of agenda-based "science" to support misinformation and distortion of the truth. Once again, Greenpeace demonstrates that its zero tolerance policy on genetic modification can only be supported by distortions and false interpretations of data—in other words, junk science.

A hunger strike led by Greenpeace finally ended in Manila on May 22 after 29 days. Activists were protesting the introduction of Bt corn into the southern Philippines. In order to whip up media attention, activists have spread scare stories that G.M. corn "would result in millions of dead bodies, sick children, can-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Newscom.com/AFP Jay Directo

Greenpeace activists hang a banner at the office of U.S. agri-chemical firm Monsanto in Manila.

cer clusters and deformities." Thankfully, the government did not give in to these fools and stood by its decision, based on three years of consultation and field trials, to allow farmers to plant Bt corn. Already there are indications of higher yield and improved incomes to farmers who chose to use the Bt corn.

For six years, anti-biotech activists managed to prevent the introduction of G.M. crops in India. This was largely the work of Vandana Shiva, the Oxford-educated daughter of a wealthy Indian family, who has campaigned relentlessly to "protect" poor farmers from the ravages of multinational seed companies. In 2002, she was given the Hero of the Planet award by *Time* magazine for "defending traditional agricultural practices." Read: poverty and ignorance.

It looked like Shiva would win the G.M. debate until 2001, when unknown persons illegally planted 25,000 acres of Bt cotton in Gujarat. The cotton bollworm infestation was particularly bad that year, and there was soon a 25,000 acre plot of beautiful green cotton in a sea of brown. The local authorities were notified and decided that the illegal cotton must be burned. This was too much for the farmers, who could now clearly see the benefits of the Bt variety. In a classic march to city hall with pitchforks in hand, the farmers protested and won the day. Bt cotton was approved for planting in March 2002. One hopes the poverty-stricken cotton farmers of India will become wealthier and deprive Vandana Shiva of her parasitical practice.

Until recently the situation in Brazil was far from promising. A panel of three judges managed to block approval of any G.M. crops there. Meanwhile, the soybean farmers in the south of the country have been quietly smuggling G.M. soybean seeds across the border from Argentina, where they are legal. The fact that Brazil was officially G.M.-free has allowed European countries to import Brazilian soybeans despite the E.U. moratorium on the import of G.M. crops. But recently things have changed.

With the election of President Luiz Inacio "Lula" da Silva of the Workers Party in 2002, the Green elements within the party pressed the government to enforce the ban on genetically modified organisms. There was something ironic about a "workers party" enforcing a policy that will damage farmers who have come to enjoy the benefits of biotechnology. In the end, the Brazilian farmers rebelled like those in India. In 2003 the government relented and allowed G.M. soybeans to be planted. The soybean farmers of southern Brazil have become prosperous, bringing benefits to the environment and their local communities.

Surely there is some way to break through the misinformation and hysteria and provide a more balanced picture to the public. Surely if reasonable people saw the choice between the risk of a daffodil gene in a rice plant versus the certainty of millions of blind children, they would descend on Greenpeace offices around the world and demand to have their money back. How is it that these charlatans continue to stymie progress on so many fronts when their arguments are nothing more than wild, scary speculation?

The main reason for the failure to win the debate decisively is the failure of supporters of G.M. technology to act decisively. The activists are playing hardball while the biotech side soft-pedals the health and environmental benefits of this new technology. Biotech companies and their associations use soft images and calm language, apparently to lull the public into making pleasant associations with G.M. products. How can that strategy possibly hope to counter the Frankenfood fears and superweed scares drummed up by Greenpeace and so many others?

Just from a brief scan of the Monsanto, Syngenta, and Council for Biotechnology Web sites, it is clear that these companies and organizations are trying to project positive, clean, and calming thoughts. This is all well and good, but it is no way to turn the tide. Stronger medicine is needed. Imagine an advertising campaign that showed graphic images of blind children in Africa, explained Vitamin A deficiency, introduced Golden Rice, and demonstrated how Greenpeace's actions are preventing the delivery of this cure. Imagine another ad that showed impoverished Indian cotton farmers, explained Bt cotton, and presented the statistics for increased yield, reduced pesticide use, and better lives for farmers—followed by the clear statement that activists are to blame for the delayed adoption of the technology. How about an ad that graphically portrays the soil erosion and stream siltation caused by conventional farming versus the soil conservation made possible by using G.M. soybeans? And another one that shows workers applying pesticides without protection in a developing country versus the greatly reduced applications possible with Bt corn and cotton? What if all these ads were hosted by a well-known and trusted personality? Wouldn't this change public perspectives?

The biotechnology sector needs to ramp up its communications program, and to get a lot more aggressive in explaining the issues to the public through the media. Nothing less will turn the tide in the battle for the minds, and hearts, of people around the world.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How Much Should We Worry About Biotech?

Newscom.com/Agence France Presse

The Culture War Behind the Biotech Battle:

How Irrational Fear Could Really Give Us Something to Worry About

By Tony Gilland

When U.S. Agriculture Secretary Ann Veneman and U.S. Special Trade Representative Robert Zoellick announced in May 2003 that the U.S. would file a case at the World Trade Organization against the European Union's moratorium on the approval of new genetically modified (G.M.) food products, the U.S. agriculture industry no doubt found itself asking, "What took you so long?" After all, the E.U.'s approach to the assessment of the health and environmental impact of G.M. foods has been based on shaky scientific foundations from the start.

Newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic cast the U.S. challenge in terms of a brewing trade war. Commentators noted that the Europeans are trying to protect their over-subsidized farmers from the pressures of international competition, and that opposition to G.M. foods is part of this anti-free-trade strategy. While there may be important trade aspects to the rift between Europe and the U.S. over genetically modified foods, the issues at stake in this debate are more profound and complex. We appear to be witnessing not just a trade war, but a culture war.

On issues of science and technology these days, Europe is often guided by the idea that innovation should only proceed when there is a guarantee that the outcome will not be harmful. Europe isn't alone in this regard; heightened preoccupation with risk has become a global phenomenon, and is by no means confined to issues such as genetically modified organisms. Alongside every debate over global warming, biodiversity, waste disposal, nuclear

Jose Bove of the Farmers' Confederation pushes a shopping cart full of G.M. products in a supermarket in Toulouse, France during a protest against genetically modified organisms.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power, sustainable development, electromagnetic fields, human genetics, and, more recently, nanotechnology, lie fundamental questions about the dynamism of science and technology, man's relationship with nature, and the role of corporations.

We should view the issue of G.M. crops and food in this context. Operating within a "precautionary principle" that demands proof that life will improve before changes are allowed in the status quo, scientists, politicians, and industrialists favorable to genetic engineering have found themselves poorly equipped to make a positive case for its implementation. Hypothetical worst-case scenarios, often with little theoretical plausibility, are combined with claims of minimal benefits for consumers. Why should we accept even the most minimal of risks? Too often, the response of authority figures to these challenges has been to implement increasingly restrictive regulatory controls, and to commission yet more research in a vain attempt to assuage the unassuageable demand that there be no unforeseen adverse consequences from new technologies.

The bumbling way in which policy makers have handled the issue of G.M. foods, particularly within Europe, has established worrying precedents for the way that modern societies relate to science, technology, and innovation generally. Technical and regulatory responses to public concerns about health and environmental issues have not worked in Europe; emotional and psychological appeals have often carried the day.

Of course sensible regulations should be employed when genuine issues of safety or adverse consequences are at stake. But this is not what the E.U.'s regulatory approach to G.M. foods has been about. Working first of all in anticipation of potential negative public reactions to biotechnology, then in response to pressure from interest groups and media campaigns, and eventually in concert with food retailing interests, the E.U. has introduced tighter and tighter regulations against G.M. technology.

The clear aim of these controls has been to cater to public perceptions, rather than scientific questions of health or environmental safety. Consequently, the regulations inevitably end up embodying exaggerated, if not spurious, concerns in an attempt to reassure the public that everything is being done to protect them. Public worries, rather than being properly addressed, challenged, and put into perspective, are thus validated and institutionalized. Once governments and regulatory bodies have demonstrated their willingness to regulate the hypothetical in this way, the door is opened to further demands for controls based on other equally emotional or hypothetical concerns.

In May 2003, on the same day that the U.S. filed its case against Europe's moratorium on imports of genetically modified food, E.U. Commissioner for the Environment Margot Wallstrom proclaimed, "We should not be deflected or distracted from pursuing the right policy for the E.U." The key phrase here is "the right policy for the E.U." Wallstrom is arguing that a scientific assessment of the health and environmental impact of G.M. crops and food is not a universal reality, but something specific to the culture of E.U. member states. She asserts that bowing to these cultural winds is the responsible approach.

The E.U. suggests that its proposed complex system requiring labeling of any food produced from a G.M. organism, regardless of the presence or absence of novel genetic material, combined with stringent and voluminous "traceability" requirements throughout the food system, will allow the moratorium on all gene engineering to be lifted without a politically frightening public outcry. Wallstrom criticized the timing of the U.S. filing of its WTO case for threatening the efforts of the E.U. to get this far.

The more Europe defines its own "culturally acceptable" approach to scientific risk —rather than confronting the climate of fear—the more it will be left behind.

Yet the outcome of the E.U.'s approach will only be to exacerbate unfounded fears. The whole character of these regulations is informed by the unwillingness of those in authority to challenge the risk-averse mood of our times. Instead, a system of regulation is being established that (1) reinforces the idea that something might go wrong and cause us to be poisoned; and (2) tells the consumer that the decision over the safety of the food he purchases is his responsibility, not something for scientists and experts to judge.

Emblazoning markers on G.M. foods constitutes a huge abdication of responsibility on the part of the E.U. and member state governments. What is the point of having an army of scientific experts across Europe investigating every aspect of this technology if they are not allowed to give us the benefit of their expertise? (As it happens, scientists are not alarmed by G.M. technology.) Rather than tell us what it really thinks, and therefore take responsibility for a decision, the E.U. would rather cover its back and demand that consumers, who in all honesty cannot be expected to be well-informed on all safety aspects of G.M. food, take responsibility for making the decision.

The E.U. may well eventually approve new biotech products and commercial uses of G.M. crops within Europe—simply because it is difficult to hold out against the use of technology on irrational grounds indefinitely. But this will not be thanks to the continent's regulators. And given the experience to date in my homeland of Britain, the possibility cannot be entirely ruled out that Europeans will just let the biotechnology train pass them by. Indeed, the more Europe moves down the route of

Tony Gilland is science and society director at the Institute of Ideas in London.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

defining its own "culturally acceptable" approach to dealing with scientific risk—rather than confronting the climate of fear—the more that this is likely to be the case.

There are numerous potential candidates to blame for the G.M. debacle in Europe. National governments have vacillated; the media have scaremongered against the technology; activist groups often exaggerate even the slightest concerns; and retailers deserve some of the blame for the speed with which they have dumped G.M. products when they caught a whiff of controversy. To apportion blame in this way, however, would be to gloss over the more profound social processes that shaped the G.M. debate—processes that may also endanger many other technologies.

The way the G.M. issue has been handled in Europe indicates just how quailingly risk-averse many modern people have become. At every stage, the scientific issue of the risks and benefits of G.M. crops was subsumed beneath an overreaching psycho-political insistence on holding back, lest something—anything!—should go wrong. That an important and potentially beneficial technology such as this could be retarded "just in case" indicates a fundamental value shift within contemporary society.

This has practical consequences for how science and technology will unfold in the future. We are shifting from the belief that progress is a social good, and that science and technology should be developed for the benefit of humanity, toward a new distrust of the consequences of progress. That could result in a severe overreaction, restricting science and technology even when the potential rewards greatly eclipse the potential risks.

Why has this shift in values and priorities taken place? Not because life has become more dangerous. We live healthier, wealthier, and safer lives than at any time in history.

It is also clear that reactions against certain new technologies have very little to do with the technologies themselves. Despite the fearful focus on G.M. crops and food in the U.K. and Europe, and the never-ending process of testing and monitoring this technology, there remains no scientific evidence that G.M. crops will acutely harm humanity or the environment.

Rather, the resistance to agricultural biotechnology reflects a growing distrust of political authority and scientific expertise. Combined with an increasingly individualized and consumerist society, this has led to a situation in which unfounded fears can take hold very rapidly, spread by unofficial sources such as the media, campaign groups, and maverick scientists. Rather than attempting to counter these scares directly, the official approach has been to bend over backwards to take such fears, no matter how exaggerated, into account—thereby implicitly endorsing them.

In this way, unfounded fears give rise to unfounded bans and controls. Which, in turn, create the basis for yet more fear. And thus encourage even more stifling regulation of the human impulse to explore, discover, and improve the world around us.

Killing the "Frankenfood" Monster:

How People Can Love, not Fear, Biotech Food

By Carol Tucker Foreman

Unlike Europeans, most Americans are not strongly opposed to agricultural biotechnology. But that doesn't mean they are enchanted by it. Polls show that Americans have never been enthusiastic about gene-altered foods, and their willingness to purchase genetically altered foods appears to be waning. While American consumers have been eating genetically modified foods for a decade now, farmers, the biotechnology industry, food processors, and government regulators ignore possible future consumer discomfort at their own peril. The next generation of genetically modified products will be much more visible to consumers, spurring active opposition. The question is whether industry and government will act to make sure concern doesn't turn to outright rejection.

The agricultural biotechnology industry and some government regulators argue that we should stop worrying and learn to love genetically modified food because the current products are based on "sound" science, are good for farmers, safe for consumers, and often beneficial for the environment. But this ignores the powerful cultural and personal attachments that most of us have to our food. From the apple in the Garden of Eden to the Golden Arches, food—what, how, and in what quantity we eat—has played a central role in our lives. We eat to live but we also live to eat. Food is more than fuel for the body. Since what we eat literally becomes part of our bodies, food is the source of some of our greatest pleasures and, not surprisingly, greatest fears.

Throughout history, people and cultures have been distinguished by what they are obligated or forbidden to eat. Jewish and Muslim dietary laws prohibit eating pork. Hindus abstain from beef. Christians may forego certain foods during Lent. Beans were a forbidden food in the ancient Pythagorean cult to which Plato belonged. Many believers would go hungry before violating these proscriptions.

Historically, people connected "purity" with "safety," and these notions were factored into early food safety requirements. Today, modern science defines safety solely in terms of toxicology, microbiology, and nutrition, but people have not relinquished their quest for purity and wholesomeness. "Organic" and "free range" foods are attractive to consumers precisely because they respond to that yearning.

Psychologists who specialize in risk perception tell us that people fear most those risks they perceive as unknown, uncontrollable, and potentially catastrophic. It should not be surprising that many consumers are uneasy about genetically modified

Carol Tucker Foreman is director of The Food Policy Institute at the Consumer Federation of America.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

food. Even though there is no evidence anyone has gotten sick from eating G.M. foods, survey data show acceptance of G.M. foods has declined over the past several years. There were somewhat fewer Americans willing to purchase genetically modified food in 2003 than there were in 1999. The number of respondents who found it unacceptable to use biotechnology to protect crops from insects rose from 18 percent in 1992 to 27 percent in 2000. A recent study by the U.S. Department of Agriculture found that consumers were willing to pay an average of 14 percent more for food that appeared to be free of genetically modified ingredients. "Consumers' willingness to pay for food products decreases when the food label indicates that a food product is produced with the aid of modern biotechnology," the USDA reported. Events such as the "Starlink" contamination, in which corn that had been approved only for animal feed got into breakfast cereal and chips, result in less support for biotech food.

There are a number of possible explanations for the existence of public skepticism about food biotechnology:

Our current biotech products were developed for growers, not eaters. So far, biotech companies have focused on seeds and crops, not foods. When they think of customers, they see farmers, not supermarket shoppers. When they imagine benefits, they see lowered input costs, not lower retail prices. Reducing the price of producing corn is good for farmers, but does not necessarily translate to lower prices at the store. Moreover, the current biotech crops have not resulted in food that is more nutritious or better tasting.

The food industry and the U.S. government have urged people to accept G.M. foods now because *someday* there will be new products that have direct consumer benefits. But this lacks immediate appeal. One argument for G.M. products that is likely to appeal to consumers is the fact that the technology has reduced reliance on the most toxic pesticides. Given public concern about pesticide residues, it is surprising that supporters haven't emphasized this benefit more.

The food biotechnology industry suffers from self-inflicted wounds. The refusal to label genetically modified food products almost surely contributes to public suspicion that there is something wrong with these products. It is human nature to suspect that, if you act covertly, you must have something to hide. The opposition to mandatory labeling, despite a plethora of polls showing consumers overwhelmingly want this information, impairs the credibility not just of biotech producers, but of food processors and government regulators as well.

Whether genetically modified animals become part of our food supply raises moral, ethical, and cultural questions which industry and government cannot ignore. People relate differently to animals than to plants. When the first biotech corn hit the market, no one thought to name it Bt Betty and flash photos on television, but the birth of Dolly, the first cloned sheep, touched off media frenzy. Her placid face stared out from newspapers and television sets around the world. Polls show greater reservations about transgenic and cloned animals than about crop biotechnology.

The current regulatory system is convoluted and illogical. Most of the laws were written before food biotechnology was developed or even dreamed of. Three agencies and ten statutes overlap. The FDA, the nation's primary food safety agency, does not examine and declare plant products safe for human consumption before they are allowed on the market. It is illegal to market a genetically modified plant without USDA approval that the plant will not harm other plants, or to market a genetically modified pest-protected plant without EPA approval that the plant will not harm the environment. Only the process for determining *human* safety is voluntary.

The FDA regulates animals rigorously. The FDA must find that the product is both safe and effective before it is sold. But the entire process for approving these animals is secret, with no public participation. The FDA does not announce when new applications are filed, does not provide information about the application to the public, does not solicit comments from the public, does not issue a public statement to justify approval of the product, and does not inform the public of the data on which the decision was based.

Food is more than fuel for the body. It is the source of some of our greatest pleasures and, not surprisingly, greatest fears.

It is understandable for the food biotechnology industry to fear that a more rigorous and wide-open regulatory system will increase the time and costs of bringing products to market. But since any adverse event involving food biotechnology causes consumers to react negatively to all G.M. products, it benefits all producers to avoid incidents and the resulting negative publicity.

Reasonable people should be able to find a way to enjoy the benefits of food biotechnology while avoiding unintended negative consequences. If government and industry are willing to take steps to address public concerns, most Americans can be persuaded to embrace this new technology.

The federal government needs to strengthen the regulatory system. Making necessary reforms now, before there is any serious mishap, will protect both public health and the industry's future. The food industry also needs to re-evaluate its role. Rather than treating skepticism as an attack on the very existence of the technology, companies should realize that not only safety issues, but also psychological reservations must be addressed.

No, the science itself doesn't require food biotechnology firms, food processing companies, or the federal government to take any of these steps. But common sense and commercial self-preservation do.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Developing the Biomedical Century:

How to Get the Treatment from the Lab to the Patient

By Scott Gottlieb

Many expect that history will look back on this century as the biomedical century. New medicines and medical research are transforming our lives more than ever before. There is hardly a disease that has not been touched by modern drugs.

The possibilities for the future are even better. Genomics gives us new insights into the correlation between genes and the likelihood of developing certain diseases. The science of proteomics shows us how proteins interact inside the body to "turn on" complicated pathways that can cause illness. These and other new sciences might result in medical products capable of being individually tailored to treat specific patients with rare diseases, perhaps even to prevent those diseases from occurring in the first place.

We've made much scientific progress toward achieving these goals. But there's still one problem. In contrast to many other fields of applied science, we're not getting any better at the process of moving from the laboratory to the drugstore; that is, developing and refining scientific ideas into products and services that can be used by patients. The plain truth is that despite the dramatic advances and the new fields that have been developed in the last decade—genomics, proteomics, nanotechnology, and others—none of these developments have yet transformed current medical treatments.

In 2002, when researchers celebrated the success of the quest to sequence all of the human genome, the number of applications and approvals for truly new drugs at the Food and Drug Administration reached a 20-year low. Applications for new biologics (drugs based on human proteins such as hormones and enzymes) and medical devices are also down dramatically. While applications to the FDA have rebounded this year, they are not up to their highest levels of the 1990s, and they still don't reflect all the investments and advances in biomedical science over the last few decades.

The potential for achieving greater innovation in the development of medical products is certainly there. Spending on biomedical research and development is higher than ever. Right now, the National Institutes for Health has completed a five-year doubling of its budget, to more than $27 billion. Less well-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

known is that spending on research and development by private companies has also risen dramatically. R&D budgets of pharmaceutical companies have doubled since 1995—to more than $30 billion. Add in funding from private foundations, biotech companies, and academic institutions and the total comes close to $100 billion.

The real problem is that it continues to get more expensive and riskier to transform discoveries in basic science into useful treatments. If recent history is any guide, the vast majority of treatments that show promise in the lab will not ever make it to a human-trial phase. Of those products that are tested on people, less than one in five will result in a product application to the FDA. And those applications will come more than a decade after the drug is first developed. People who are suffering from diseases today can't wait all those years for fresh treatments to eventually make their way to the market. They need help now.

Just as the time it takes to bring a new drug to market has risen, so have the costs. According to the Tufts Center for the Study of Drug Development, it now takes more than $1 billion in private money—in addition to the substantial NIH contributions to laying the scientific foundations—to develop a drug. All in all, the cost of developing a new drug has doubled over the past decade.

It's no wonder that health care costs are going up. No wonder that we have not yet fulfilled the promise of what should be the biomedical century. And it's no wonder that, despite all of the biomedical potential, patients are not yet benefiting from treatments based on genomics, nanotechnology, and the other new sciences.

We need to find better ways to turn scientific discoveries into practical medical solutions. The problems of moving from the initial "proof of concept" phase to giving doctors and patients confidence about that new drug in actual treatment are often complicated and unglamorous. They are more likely to involve practical issues like modifying the components in a manufacturing process than intellectual ones like discovering a new molecular mechanism. But in biomedicine, as in other areas of science, solving practical problems is often what creates a dramatic breakthrough.

The challenges to finding a clear path for developing medical treatments fall into three broad categories. These are the common places where product development gets off track, new products fail, and where product developers gamble and lose.

The first challenge is to move a discovery from the laboratory to the beginning of clinical trials, often referred to as "translational research." It can be hard to get a new drug into a form that can be easily taken by patients, or absorbed into their blood. Or it's too hard to eliminate certain toxic side effects. Or sometimes scientists just can't figure out how to turn a new chemical compound into something that can be fit into a pill or an injection.

The second challenge involves structuring clinical trials so that everyone involved in a drug's development, including the FDA, can get the maximum amount of information about its safety and its efficacy for the lowest cost. Many clinical trials could probably be done quite differently than they are today, but designing better trials requires more creativity on the part of everyone involved, and more applied, developmental science to guide us. Often, we still use the same procedures that were developed decades ago. We still use blood liver enzymes to check for liver damage, even though the enzymes do not discriminate well between dangerous and mild drug-liver reactions. Despite de-cades of research in immunology, we do not have good tests to predict if a drug will cause an immune reaction, and no one is sure what the standards should be for testing cell or gene therapies.

We need to find better ways to turn scientific discoveries into practical medical solutions.

The third challenge is making a new treatment commercially and easily available to patients. To the consumer, who sees only identical pills in a plastic bottle, this may seem a simple matter, but it's not. A drug must be manufactured in the right dose, the right formulation, consistently, and in massive quantities. The production of most medical products is still a formidable task.

During the past decade, one of the most significant improvements in drug development resulted from the use of new technologies that help make sure the molecules scientists discover in their Petri dishes and test tubes will actually turn out to be good drugs when taken by people—drugs that will be easily absorbed inside a patient's stomach, that will hit their "target" in the body, and won't cause any dangerous or nagging side effects. The problem is that the product development community, drug manufacturers, and the FDA are not using these improved methods to guide the *development* process (all the steps that take place after a drug makes it to clinical trials) in the same way that they are used to improve the *discovery* process.

Since product developers have all designed their programs to meet the FDA's scrutiny, innovation in development has remained largely static. So long as the FDA's requirements do not change, neither will the science of product development. FDA requirements have inadvertently imposed a ceiling on scientific innovation. The FDA is working to be part of the solution by adapting its own requirements to take advantage of new technologies and making sure they are based on the best and latest science. The commissioner has implemented a broad initiative to help solve these challenges.

Only by adopting policies that improve the process for developing new medical technologies will we fulfill the promise many envisioned when they labeled ours the biomedical century.

Dr. Scott Gottlieb is senior adviser for medical technology to the commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Biotech Ethics:

Modern Man and the Pursuit of Happiness

Following are excerpts from a recent panel discussion at AEI on the new report of the President's Council on Bioethics, Beyond Therapy: Biotechnology and the Pursuit of Happiness. *The panelists were Council chairman and AEI fellow Leon Kass, M.D.; Gregg Easterbrook of the* New Republic*; Diana Schaub of Loyola College; and Peter Augustine Lawler of Berry College.*

An expanded version of Schaub's and Lawler's remarks will be published in the Winter 2004 issue of The New Atlantis: A Journal of Technology and Society *(www.thenewatlantis.com).*

Leon Kass:

The age of biotechnology has begun filled with hope and expectation. Advances in genetics, drug discovery, and regenerative medicine promise cures for dreaded diseases and relief from terrible suffering. Advances in neuroscience and psychopharmacology promise better treatments for the mentally ill. Techniques of assisted reproduction have already allowed more than a million infertile couples to have their own children. Without such advances—past, present, and future—many of us would lead diminished lives or not be here at all.

But our desires for a better life do not end with health, and the possibilities of biotechnology are not limited to therapy. Although most biomedical technologies have been developed for therapeutic purposes, once here, they are quickly available to serve many other ends, good ones and bad. In mischievous hands, they provide new possibilities for bioterrorism or for social control, possibilities we do not take up in this report. But for people with innocent hands, the powers that biotechnologies provide to alter the workings of body and mind are attractive not only for healing the sick and comforting the suffering, but for satisfying widespread human desires to look younger, perform better, feel happier, or become more perfect.

Some of our most popular dreams and nightmares, such as a world of genetically engineered designer babies with parents ordering up their children's characteristics, are, as the report takes some pains to indicate, scientifically unlikely. But other scenarios are more than plausible, and many desire-satisfying uses of biotechnology are already here: embryo screening or sperm sorting to choose the sex of offspring; growth hormones to make children taller; Ritalin and similar drugs to control behavior or boost performance in the young; and Prozac or similar drugs to brighten moods or alter temperaments—not to speak of Botox, Viagra, or anabolic steroids.

Many of these technologies are used mostly for good medical reasons, but not always. And I should point out that the cosmetic uses of biotechnology are spiraling out of bounds even before some of these new powers are available. In 2002, Americans spent over $1 billion to treat baldness, about 10 times as much as what was spent worldwide seeking a cure for malaria. And in 2002, $7.7 billion was spent on 6.9 million cosmetic procedures in the United States, more than triple the number just five years earlier.

Looking ahead, other biotech projects are already visible on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the horizon: drugs to erase or at least flatten the emotional tone of painful or shameful memories; gene inserts to increase the size and strength of muscles; nanomechanical implants to enhance sensation or motor skills; and perhaps techniques to slow the entire process of biological aging and to increase the maximum human life span.

All this leaves us wondering: Where's the problem? What could be wrong with seeking better children, superior performance, ageless bodies, or happy souls? These are, after all, old and often worthy human desires which biotechnology promises to help us satisfy. Moreover, in free societies like ours, choices about using technical enhancers are not made by central planners pursuing some vision of a perfect future society. They are made largely by private individuals pursuing their personal dreams of happiness. Why worry, then, about letting people decide for themselves which uses of drugs or devices serving which goals are right for them?

There are, to be sure, questions about the safety of the new technologies and about the equality of access to them. But these familiar concerns do not reach either the true promise or the deeper perils of the biotechnology revolution. Our hopes for self-improvement and our disquiet about a possibly post-human future are much more profound. At stake are the kind of human being and the sort of society we will be creating in an age of biotechnology.

Relative to its potential importance, the subject of this report, "Beyond Therapy," is one of the most neglected topics in public bioethics. No previous council has taken it up, not even in part. It speaks, in fact, to the major sources of public concern about the biological revolution. It raises some of its most weighty questions. It touches on the ends and goals to be served by the acquisition of biotechnical power, not just on the safety, efficacy, and the morality of the means we use to pursue them. It bears on the nature and the meaning of human freedom and human flourishing and it faces squarely the alleged threat of dehumanization as well as the alleged promise of super-humanization. It compels attention to what it means to be a human being.

The members of the President's Council on Bioethics spent 16 months learning about the science and technologies, present and projected, from the experts in the field, and discussing among ourselves the likely human and social significance of the use of these technologies beyond therapy. Two important decisions governed our approach. First, we decided to consider all uses together. Rather than look piecemeal at, say, genetic engineering or anti-aging technologies or psychotropic drugs, we saw them as aspects of one big picture—human life in the age of biotechnology. Second, in organizing our reflections, we decided that the big picture of the age of biotechnology is not, in fact, about biotechnology itself, but rather about human beings empowered by biotechnology. Accordingly, we have organized our report not around the specific technologies or even around the powers they place in human hands, but rather around the human desires that they may serve.

Proceeding this way lets us see how these new technological possibilities for going beyond therapy fit with previous and present human pursuits and aspirations, including those well-represented in the goals of modern medicine. They enable us also to assess critically the desirability of these goals and the significance of any successes in attaining them.

Let me close by posing this dilemma: We are not criticizing the uses of biotechnology, nor are we troubled particularly by human desires. These desires are in fact the source of much that is good about us. The question is: What happens when these natural human desires become empowered by these technological means?

What happens when natural human desires to perform become empowered by these technological means?

One could put the dilemma in the following way: We want better children—but do we want better children if it means turning procreation into manufacture, or if it means altering their brains to give them an edge over their peers?

We want to perform better in the activities of life—but do we want to accomplish this by becoming mere creatures of our chemists, or by turning ourselves into bionic tools designed to win and achieve in inhuman ways?

We want longer lives—but do we want them at the cost of living carelessly or shallowly with diminished aspiration for living well, or by becoming people so obsessed with our own longevity that we care less and less about the next generation?

We want, of course, to be happier—but do we want to be so by means of drugs that give us happy feelings without the real loves, attachments, and the achievements that are essential for human flourishing?

We also deal with questions of identity and individuality and the risks of turning ourselves into something other than ourselves as we pursue these forms of perfection, and the question of whether, in pursuing them, we don't jeopardize true human flourishing.

The document finishes with a brief look at biotechnology and American ideals. There we deal with three things that are really quite challenging: The question of commerce and the manufacture of new desires; the question of the growing medicalization of human life and what it means to understand human life in biomedical terms; and finally, the question of how the American ideas of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are both friendly to the growth of these new biotechnologies beyond therapy. How they might, in a way, serve to moderate some of the extreme possibilities, but also how we must remind ourselves of what purpose these ideals have—if we are to reap the benefits of these technologies without walking willingly down the road to our own degradation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From *Beyond Therapy*, Chapter 2, "Better Children":

In most of our efforts to assist our children's development, we proceed through speech and symbolic deed, using praise and blame, reward and punishment, encouragement and admonition, as well as habituation, training, and ritualized activities. Yet nature sets limits on what can be accomplished by education and training alone. No matter how much we try to help, the tone-deaf will need more training to learn to carry a tune, the short will be less likely to excel at basketball, the irascible will have trouble restraining their tempers, and the insufficiently smart will remain handicapped for competitive college admissions. If the inborn "equipment" is faulty, or even only normally limited…it is inviting to think about improving the native powers or the efficacy of their expression and use. For whether we like it or not, certain desired improvements in our children will be possible, if at all, only by improving their native equipment....

According to some predictions, our ability to improve our children's native endowments may soon take a quantum leap, thanks to prospects for genetically engineered improvements of native human powers.... It is these prospects—for so-called "designer babies" and for drug-enhanced children—that we shall consider…. Once seen in the context of the common goal, "better children," the different technologies raise overlapping and similarly profound ethical and social issues—especially about the significance of procreation, the nature of parental responsibility, and the meaning of childhood.

Gregg Easterbrook:

The kind of futuristic, brave new world genetics—dial-up properties for your children—does not seem probable based on current technology. What does seem probable is what the Council's report calls "negative eugenics." Ever-improving tests similar to amniocentesis, while not allowing you to insert the properties that you want into a child, do allow you to find defects or worrisome properties. Right now, amnio looks for properties having to do with severe mental problems and a few physical ones. It is possible to ima-gine procedures in the near future somewhat similar to amnio, perhaps even simpler and less invasive, that could test for clumsiness, baldness, or shortness.

Parents have a responsibility to present their children with the best possible world. You can already get cello lessons for your children, and send them to the best schools. If it becomes possible to present your children with the best possible genetics, even if it's only by eliminating the presence of flaws, many parents are going to find incredible pressure on them—self-imposed or social—to do so. Although at the early stages it will probably be expensive and only available to the rich, in a relatively short time it will be widely available to everybody.

Just think for a minute: If you had a choice between a short, clumsy child who was going to become prematurely bald, and a tall, athletic, handsome kid with a full head of hair, every parent would choose kid number 2. You'd almost have some sort of weird responsibility to choose kid number 2. And yet, think of the great contributions that have been made to the world by short, clumsy, bald people. Think of the short, clumsy, bald people whom you personally have loved, the people who have obvious things about them that would show up as a genetic defect in some advanced test, and yet have turned out to be wonderful people. This is why negative eugenics was what scared me when I read the report. It feels like something that's going to be practical and for sale sometime in the next ten or 20 years.

We tend to assume all technological developments are inevitable. One of the things this report is about is asking whether, just because these things are inevitable, we really want them. But we also have to ask ourselves about the evolutionary inevitability as well. This is a thought that doesn't give me much comfort, although it may not matter all that much to future generations. Things that seem strange or even grotesque about bioengineering to our generation may be mere adaptations to future generations. Future generations may consider it part of the natural scheme that first there was undirected evolution followed by directed evolution. They may consider it totally obvious that this was what was going to happen all along and wonder why we, in the early twenty-first century, were fighting it.

I think there are some good reasons that we should fight it, or at least regulate this technology very closely. The report lays out most of those reasons. But as we do so, I think we must bear in mind that future generations are likely to take biotechnology for granted—which makes it all the more important that we elucidate very clearly the moral reasons for our fight.

When it comes to performance-enhancing physical drugs—the report uses athletics as an example—clearly, some of them are with us already. The steroids that are used especially in major league baseball are all around us today. If you look at pictures of baseball games from the 1960s, the players look like stick figures compared to the players of the present. Today even the shortstops of major league baseball teams look like hulking muscular guys who should be working as male strippers for a living.... It's not just because they've been hitting the Nautilus machines, although that's part of it.

The report points out that, from the standpoint of public appreciation of sports, the cross check here against baseball is that maybe the public will just never be interested in the performance of genetically enhanced athletes because it won't seem human or interesting and engaging in the way the Olympics seem to us today.

I would think that most sports fans and Olympics fans are going to strongly resist performance-altering drugs, even if

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they're widely available inexpensively to everybody, because it will change the nature of the competition. It won't be a human competition anymore.

From Chapter 3, "Superior Performance":

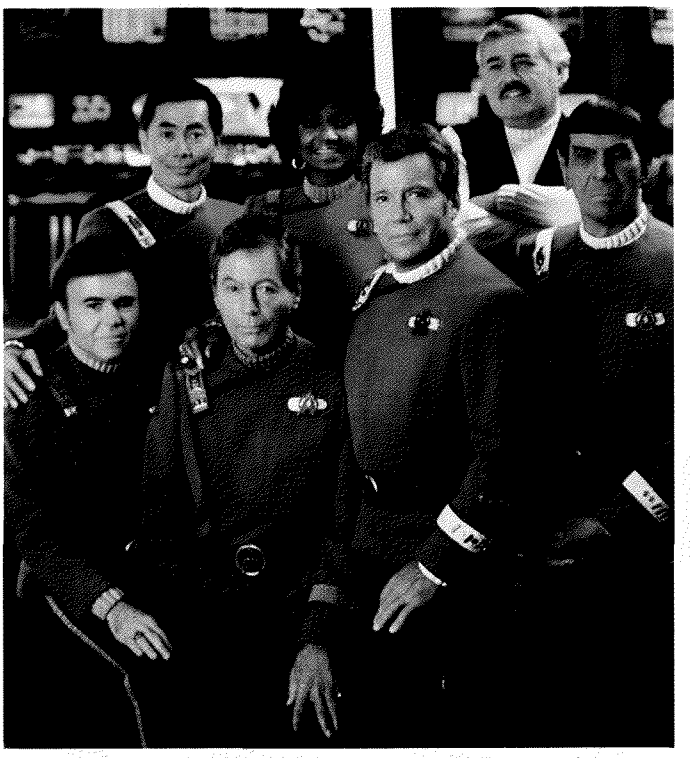
The striving for superior performance is…central to our humanity. But it also raises a series of questions and dilemmas, and sometimes unease and concern, not only about the means we employ, but also about the goal itself. We worry that the desire to become better could deform elements of human life that are not properly measured according to the standard of "superiority," or that our improvements will be achieved only at the price of our integrity and dignity. We worry that pressures to excel will overwhelm us, or that the desire to be the best will tempt us to "cheat" our way to the top. We worry that putting such a high premium on excellence will crowd out the disadvantaged, or lead us to mistreat those who are "failures." In short, we worry about balance, fairness, and charity—but also, and perhaps more profoundly, we worry about pursuing the wrong goals in the wrong way, or posing as something we are not….

To fully understand the meaning of using these new biotechnical powers...we would need to explore the reasons we seek to become better.... We would need to pay attention both to the ends we seek and the means and manner by which we seek them...as we discover new and better ways to "improve" our given bodies, minds, and performance, are we changing or compromising the dignity of human activity?... Is the enhanced person still fully *me*, and are my *achievements* still fully mine?

Diana Schaub:

To talk about the "Ageless Bodies" chapter might be the most difficult, particularly if one wants to follow the report in arguing that such a quest is questionable. To make the case against the prolongation of one's life, one has to make an argument for human mortality. Love, excellence, and happiness all sound a whole lot better, and more likely to be part of a persuasive speech, than does death. One could try to make the Grim Reaper sound less grim by speaking of the natural human lifespan or employing poetic language like "three-score and ten," but one still comes up pretty hard against our desire for self-preservation, our love of life, our dread of decline, and our fear of death.

Now would be the time, before a dramatically extended human life span is on the horizon, to conduct some thought experiments aimed at ascertaining whether longer life holds promise or peril. The report does this by speculating about possible transformations in our outlook on life and death, our level of commitment and aspiration, and our familial and societal relations. It struck me while reading the report that science fiction has always been a good source of such thought experiments. Perhaps science fiction could help in forming the sort of public opinion that will be necessary to stave off some of these developments.



Newscom.com/Agence France Presse

In the popular sci-fi series "Star Trek," the crew of the *USS Enterprise* often exposed the folly of the technological quest for "ageless bodies."

To anyone interested in these issues, I strongly recommend "Star Trek"—the original series of course, not any of the second-rate sequels. Given the scientific mission of the *USS Enterprise* ("to explore strange new worlds, to seek out new life and new civilizations, to boldly go where no man has gone before"), you might expect that the show would be gung-ho for the conquest of nature, including pushing the envelope of our human nature. But "Star Trek" episodes repeatedly confirm the needfulness of human limitations and, indeed, revel in the self-imposed acceptance of those limitations. Interestingly, this attitude is embodied most in the ship's chief medical officer, Doctor McCoy, whose nickname is "Bones," a nickname that forcibly reminds us of the limitations of the medical art: The bodies doctors attend upon will die.

Many episodes of the show dealt with mortality and immortality. Let me mention just two—one, titled "Miri" (a name intentionally reminiscent of Shakespeare's Miranda who delivers the famous line "O brave new world that has such people in't!"), and one called "Requiem for Methuselah" (Methuselah being the longest-lived of the Biblical figures; the Bible says he lived 969 years.) In "Miri," the *USS Enterprise* answers a centuries-old distress call from a parallel planet Earth. There, the crew happens upon the results of a Life Prolongation Project that went disastrously awry in the 1960s. All the adults on the planet are dead, victims of a manmade virus that afflicts individuals at the onset of puberty. The planet is populated entirely by children, who are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From Chapter 4, "Ageless Bodies":

The scientific quest to slow the aging process is not explicitly aimed at conquering death. But in taking the aging of the body as itself a kind of disorder to be corrected, it treats man's mortal condition as a target for medicine, as if death were indeed rather like one of the specific (fatal) diseases. There is no obvious end-point to the quest for ageless bodies: After all, why should any life span, however long, be long enough? In principle, the quest for any age-retardation...seeks to overcome the ephemeral nature of the human body, and to replace it with permanent facility and endless youth.

The finitude of our power, and of our time, is part and parcel of our being embodied living creatures. An ageless body is almost a contradiction in terms, since all physical things necessarily decay over time, and so experience the passing of time in a most immediate way. To escape from time and age would be to escape from our bodily self.... In these fundamental terms, the wish for ageless bodies and its potential fulfillment by biotechnology may be the most radical of the subjects we address in this report.... It is, at its core, a desire to overcome the most fundamental bounds of our humanity, and to redefine our bodily relationship with time and with the physical world.

And yet, although supremely radical, it is at the same time a perfectly routine desire, one which absolutely every one of us has often felt: watching helplessly as a loved one weakens and declines; contemplating the limits of our time here on earth; or just hearing an unfamiliar "snap" in our back as we reach up for a rebound on the basketball court or bend over to lift up a grandchild. The possibility that biotechnology might be able to significantly slow the process of aging invites us to consider carefully the meaning of this routine but radical desire.... The moral case for living longer is very strong, and the desire to live longer speaks powerfully to each and every one of us. But the full consequences of doing so may not be quite so obvious.

hundreds of years old, living a *Lord of the Flies*-type existence. As a result of the Life Prolongation Project, they age one month for every 100 years of real time until reaching puberty, at which point the virus causes them to age rapidly and horribly. We see before us the dystopia of an almost eternal childhood.

The episode raises some important considerations: In any project to lengthen life, what stage of life do we want to lengthen? All stages equally, or some more than others? Perhaps most fascinatingly, the story is premised on the connection between mortality and fertility—a connection highlighted by the Council's report. In the research conducted thus far, the most common side effect of age retardation seems to be sterility or reduced fertility. It seems as if, in pursuing an ageless body, the balance between the individual and the species is altered. When we choose vastly longer life for the individual, the propagation of the species is sacrificed. The society in "Star Trek" is a drastic rendition of the trade-off. In pursuing immortality, the residents of the planet made clear their hostility to the succession of the generations. They sought to make themselves irreplaceable. In a sense, the virus is the internal truth of their project, for the virus makes the succession of the generations impossible. Fertility brings with it an immediate sentence of death, and fertility cannot achieve its purpose. Without any power of regeneration, this society of perennial youngsters is slowly dying. Miri, for whom the episode is named, is a girl on the cusp of adolescence, fearful of growing up, but also drawn to the adult world, and especially Captain Kirk, with whom she falls in love. Fittingly, it is her love for him that eventually allows the crew to intervene and reverse the effects of the Life Prolongation Project.

"Requiem for Methuselah" examines another sort of immortality, lest we think that perpetual maturity would be better than perpetual youth. The *Enterprise* encounters Flint, a 6,000-year-old man who has retreated from the human world to his own private planet. He was born in 3834 B.C., inexplicably endowed with the capacity for instant tissue regeneration. He has lived a thousand different lives, many of them notable. He was, for instance, Leonardo da Vinci and Johannes Brahms. Over the centuries he has amassed wealth and knowledge. And yet he is now as cold and unyielding as his name, Flint. He is quite prepared to kill the entire crew of the *Enterprise* in order to protect his privacy. Doctor McCoy is astonished at his cruelty: "You have been such men, you have known such beauty...." But as Flint explains: "I have seen a hundred billion fall." His longevity has rendered him misanthropic.

He is not, however, a misogynist. He is at work manufacturing the perfect female android, an immortal mate for himself and a remedy for his solitude and boredom. "Star Trek" almost always portrayed those who go beyond the normal limits of an embodied existence as cruel, controlling, and intolerably lonely. Often they feel their longevity to be a curse. Of course, Captain Kirk and company manage to escape Flint's clutches, and again it is love that provides the corrective, in this case the android's rebellious love for the starship captain. When Flint's creation self-destructs, he relents. In the end, Flint learns that in leaving Earth's atmosphere, his immortality has been compromised. From now on he will live out a natural life span. This knowledge of his mortality immediately improves his character, as he resolves to devote the remainder of his now precious days to helping his fellow man.

My years watching "Star Trek" have left me receptive to the view that mortality is, if not precisely a good thing, then at least the necessary foundation of other very good things, and that there is something misguided about the attempt to overcome mortality.

Peter Augustine Lawler:

The case for conscious, biotechnological mood control only makes sense to those who really believe that we do or will

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be able to completely understand human consciousness or the human soul. So it doesn't make much sense to me. And I think this penetrating report would be even more powerful if it were more consistently confident that the mood control project is mission impossible, in fact, nuts.

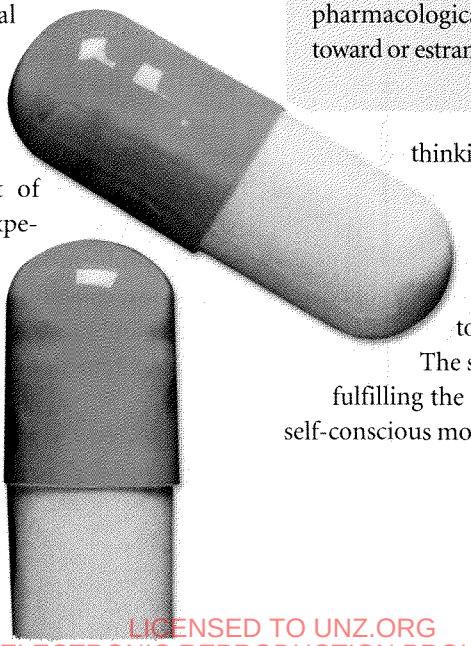
Every modern or technological attempt to make us more at home in this world has had the main effect of making us more homeless. This one will be no different. We may soon enough believe that there is nothing we can do except pop the right mix of pills, to make ourselves happy. This new and quite fundamental dependence on technological manipulation will make our existences more contingent than ever, and just beneath the surface of our new good feelings will be a new form of anxiety. Our pursuit of happiness will be more fanatical and more futile than ever. But the good news is that there will be in some ways more evidence than ever that we have souls.

So this report, in my view, is in some ways incoherent because it provides plenty of evidence that what its authors sometimes seem to fear—that we will manipulate our chemical make-ups to withdraw into private fantasies—could not really happen. We will still be stuck with all the tough demands of living in a very high-tech, very meritocratic, very competitive society.

Because it will be possible for us, the report astutely speculates, we will come to be expected to brighten our moods to maximize our productivity and to be a source of constant pleasure to others. We will not only have to dress, but feel, for success. Being alienated, depressed, sad, shy, or just introspective will be regarded as problems that we have the duty to solve by a quick trip to the drugstore.

Contrary to what our silly libertarians think, designer mood control will be an unprecedented constraint on individual freedom. We will no longer have a right to our anxiety—and that will make us more anxious and, I think, in some ways angrier than ever. Our anger will be directed, whether we know it or not, against an attempt to deprive us of part of the truth about our human being.

So this report is strongest when it is clearest that our pharmacological attempts at mood control will be yet another failed escapist solution to the problem of our obsessive individualism. Our biotechnological efforts will do nothing to solve any of the problems that come with the contemporary denials of the goodness of the limits and directions imposed on us by nature.



Our futile biotechnological pursuit of happy souls will erode still further our experiences of continuity, permanence, love, and friendship—our genuine connections with the world and the human beings around us—that really do moderate our genuinely human experiences of homelessness in this world.

So all honor to Leon Kass for getting the government to venture a bit into thinking about the soul. The biggest news this report gives us is that there is no substitute for the practice of virtue, for really being good, if we want to be as happy as we can be. We need to think about what sort of virtue will be required to live well in the strange new biotech world.

The secret to enjoying real human happiness lies in fulfilling the demanding moral responsibilities given to us self-conscious mortals in a grateful and dignified way.

From Chapter 5, "Happy Souls":

Until recently, biotechnological aids to psychic flourishing have been relatively feeble and non-specific. Drugs for soothing bad memories have been utterly lacking. And drugs to brighten mood or raise self-esteem have been imperfect: unsafe, inadequately effective, transient, liable to side effects, and frequently illegal or stigmatized. Thanks to recent breakthroughs, however...the burgeoning field of neuroscience is providing new, more specific, and safer agents to help us combat all sorts of psychic distress….

To be sure, these agents—and their better versions, yet to come—are, for now at least, being developed not as means for drug-induced happiness but rather as agents for combating major depression or preventing post-traumatic stress disorder. Yet once available for those purposes, they could also be used to ease the soul and enhance the mood of nearly anyone. Should this occur, further research and development of drugs helpful to the direct pursuit of happier souls—surely a profitable business venture—would very likely take place. As a result, our pursuit of happiness and our sense of self-satisfaction will become increasingly open to *direct* biotechnical intervention….

By directly inducing changes in our subjective experience, the new psychotropic drugs create the possibility of severing the link between feelings of happiness and our actions and experiences in the world. Who would need better children, superior performance, or more youthful bodies if medication could provide the pleasure and sense of well-being that is the goal of so many of our aspirations? Indeed, why would one need to discipline one's passions, refine one's sentiments, and cultivate one's virtues, in short, to organize one's soul for action in the world, when one's aspiration to happiness could be satisfied by drugs in a quick, consistent, and cost-effective manner?

Yet it is far from clear that feelings of contentment severed from action in the world or from relationships with other people could make us truly happy.... More generally, would the pharmacological management of our mental lives draw us toward or estrange us from the true happiness that we seek?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Europe's Constitution Confusion

By Jonathan Kallmer

The European Union has been one of the most successful creations in the history of political science. For the past half century, harmonization of the policies of many European countries has helped make war in Western Europe unthinkable, enhanced the living standards of hundreds of millions of people, and enshrined into law a vast array of important social, political, and human rights. Yet aspirations for further progress endure. Several years ago, following the consolidation of the single market and the creation of a common currency, Union leaders undertook some new collective soul searching regarding the organization's raison d'être. They ultimately decided that Europe needed a constitution.

For 16 months leading up to June 2003, under the leadership of former French president Valery Giscard d'Estaing, 105 representatives of current and future E.U. member states worked to draft a European constitution. Though member state governments failed to agree to the entirety of the draft at the intergovernmental conference that ended in mid December in Brussels, they will likely resume their discussions in March and aim to complete the document by June. Sadly, the vastly ambitious document they are considering almost utterly fails to achieve the objectives set out for it.

The problem is not precisely that the constitution is too ambitious; constitutions should be ambitious. The problem is that it is ambitious in ways that exacerbate the problems it was meant to remedy. The European Union has achieved great

Jonathan Kallmer is an attorney in Washington, D.C. and practices international litigation and arbitration. He writes frequently on international affairs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

things, but part of the virtue of doing great things is recognizing what cannot be done. All of the draft constitution's flaws flow directly or indirectly from its framers' failure to recognize limits.

The essential merits of a constitution are found as much in the process as in the substance. An effective constitutional document not only sets out the core rights of citizens and the basic structures of government, but does so in a way that is clear, concise, and accessible. A constitution is for people, not bureaucrats, and it is imperative that it speaks as plainly as possible. The European draft constitution shows few of these procedural virtues.

At over 200 pages, the document is simply too long. If it takes that much paper to discuss fundamental values and a clear institutional structure, it is likely that the values are not fundamental and the institutional structure is not clear. To be sure, almost everything contained in the document is worthy of legal codification. But a constitution is a special kind of document; how it speaks is as important as what it says.

For example, the document's Charter of Fundamental Rights sets out dozens of justifiably non-negotiable rights, such as a prohibition on slavery, freedom of expression, and freedom of assembly and association. Yet it also proposes rights that, while valid, should be the subject of ordinary legislation, not a constitution. These include the right to academic freedom, the right of the elderly to participate in social and cultural life, and the right to consumer protection. Moreover, the document proposes rights the validity of which are questionable, such as the right of children to express their views, and the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of "political or any other opinion[s]." (Would an E.U. constitution actually require Germany's Christian Democratic Party to admit Social Democrats?)

One could guess what "degressively proportional" means, but intellectual acrobatics shouldn't be required to understand a constitution.

In addition, the language of the draft constitution is irredeemably vague. It provides, for example, that representation in the European Parliament is to be "degressively proportional." One could guess what that term means and probably approach the right answer, but intellectual acrobatics shouldn't be required to understand a constitution. Further instances of language with close to no meaning abound: A European common foreign and defense policy would be "based on the development of mutual political solidarity among member states"; the Union's social policy shall combat "social exclusion"; Union institutions "shall conduct their work as openly as possible"; and economic regulation shall ensure "balanced progress" in all sectors. Whether the intrepid eurocrat can understand such terms is irrelevant. Constitutions must be written so that ordinary citizens can understand them.

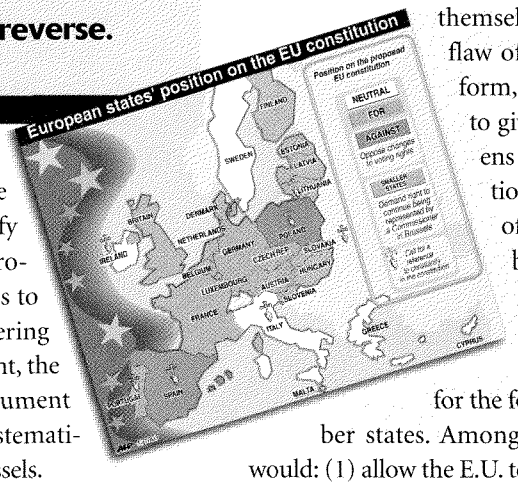
One could argue that it is impossible to draft a constitution that is both succinct and unambiguous. The U.S. Constitution is wonderful in large part because of its simplicity, but that has not stopped successive generations from arguing over how to interpret its more imprecise terms. However, the vagueness in Europe's version does not approach the rich ambiguity found in phrases like "freedom of speech" and "unreasonable searches and seizures." Rather, it is unacceptably vague because in many instances it has no meaning at all.

The E.U. has always been criticized for its dubious democratic credentials. One of the primary goals of this constitutional project, therefore, was to take the Union public, bring it closer to the people, and create a genuinely pan-European politics. This meant untangling the definitions and job descriptions of the E.U.'s many institutions and letting the process of policy formulation spring more strongly from Europe's most representative institutions: the European Parliament and national legislatures. But the document as drafted would actually make the Union less democratic, as it fails to define properly the powers of E.U. institutions as they relate to each other and the member states.

An essential characteristic of a well-drafted constitution is that it establishes an equilibrium of power among institutions, lest one

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With this unfortunate document, the cause of European integration has shifted ominously into reverse.



Newscom.com/AFP Graphics Service

institution become structurally capable of dominating the others. This notion is at the heart of the "checks and balances" that typify the American Constitutional system. The proposed E.U. constitution, however, largely fails to establish such an equilibrium. Despite delivering some modest gains to the European Parliament, the institutional structure proposed by the document (when it is clear enough to be discerned) systematically favors the centralization of power in Brussels.

First, the un-elected, supranational European Commission would retain almost sole discretion to propose legislation, manage the Union budget, and implement E.U. law. Second, by proposing to enlarge the Commission to 25 or more commissioners (in order to placate the incoming member states), the draft would further concentrate power in the hands of the Union's least representative body. Finally, while the draft constitution wistfully proclaims that "the Institutions shall practice full mutual cooperation," competent constitutional systems (such as that in the United States) protect the rights of citizens not with cooperation but with conflict among institutions.

An effective constitution not only maintains checks among institutions but also provides a balance of power between an entity as a whole and its subdivisions. Under the American model, the concept of federalism regulates the relationship between the federal government and the states. Despite the fact that E.U. member states are sovereign and autonomous countries, federalism is still important in the European setting. Regrettably, the draft E.U. constitution neglects to strike a proper balance between powers reserved for the Union and those reserved for the member states.

In particular, the draft's treatment of the principle of "subsidiarity," the notion that the Union should not act in an area where it is more appropriate for a national or local government to do so, is gratuitous. The document provides that the Union shall only decline to act if it does not have exclusive competence in an area and if the objectives of a proposed measure cannot "be better achieved at Union level." Yet it conveniently fails to mention who is responsible for making this determination. In addition, while the Commission must demonstrate the compliance of all legislative proposals with the subsidiarity principle, the consequences of its failure to do so are essentially nil. If one third of national legislatures oppose the measure on subsidiarity grounds, "the Commission shall review its proposal" and "may decide to maintain, amend, or withdraw its proposal." Simply put, the Commission does not have to listen to the member states if it does not want to.

Constitutions are typically written by single, independent nation-states—political entities whose authority over their constituent parts is beyond question. Rarely, if ever, has a group of sovereign states considered establishing a true constitution among themselves. Therein lies the most significant flaw of the E.U. constitution. In its current form, the document asks the member states to give up too much. In so doing, it threatens to undermine the conceptual foundation of the E.U.: the pragmatic integration of sovereign states, cooperating where it benefits them, acting individually where it does not.

Thus, the draft constitution proposes giving the Union responsibility for the foreign and defense policies of all member states. Among other things, the draft constitution would: (1) allow the E.U. to define the collective strategic interests of the member states; (2) create an E.U. foreign minister to formulate and implement Union foreign policy and represent the Union diplomatically; (3) require the member states to "coordinate their action in international organizations"; and (4) integrate and harmonize the member states' defense capabilities and provide for concerted action in the case of conflict.

Furthermore, a necessary consequence of the E.U.'s desire to have its own "legal personality" in foreign affairs is that the two permanent seats on the United Nations Security Council now held by the United Kingdom and France would be merged into one. Yet that is simply inconceivable; neither the British nor the French would ever give up their permanent seat. More important, it would not be in the E.U.'s interest for them to do so, as consolidation of the two seats would reduce Europe's Security Council representation from 40 percent to 25 percent. Nothing more concisely demonstrates the contradictions inherent in a common foreign policy.

The reality of member states' diverse foreign policy preferences ought to disabuse anyone of the notion that genuine harmonization is possible (let alone desirable). The debate over the war in Iraq reflected a deep and systematic divergence in European foreign policy attitudes. While France, Germany, and Belgium opposed the war and demanded the blessing of the U.N., Great Britain, Spain, and Italy supported the U.S. decision to go to war. The differences are even more profound when one considers the future E.U. member states of Central and Eastern Europe. Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic represent a foreign policy spirit similar to that of the United States. With the memory of Soviet oppression still very much alive, they are unlikely to give up their foreign policy independence without a fight. These differences are not unique to the situation in Iraq, and they will not disappear when the next crisis comes. As a result, if the vision of a common E.U. foreign policy is to be realized, the member states must—almost by definition—relinquish an unconscionable degree of sovereignty.

The draft constitution also seeks some harmonization of criminal law. Yet the legal systems of the 25 current and future member

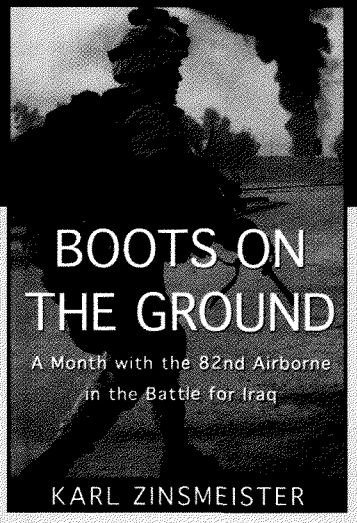
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

states vary widely, in both procedure and substance. The differences matter. They reflect deep, culturally determined attitudes about the relationship between citizen and state. Beyond the legitimate international crimes discussed specifically in the document, the broad notion of "judicial cooperation" challenges the member states' appropriately individualized approaches to criminal law. In particular, the draft constitution leaves open the possibility that a European prosecutor will be created to investigate and try certain types of cases. That is not so objectionable on its own, but the document entertains expanding a prosecutor's jurisdiction to include "crimes affecting the interests of the Union." At this level of generality, virtually all crimes occurring in the Union (and many occurring outside it) affect its interests. Given that E.U. institutions would be responsible for interpreting the breadth of their own jurisdiction, the member states should be wary of the imminent trespass upon their sovereignty.

Immigration and asylum policy is yet another area that the draft constitution wrongly seeks to embrace. Like foreign policy and criminal law, immigration and asylum laws reflect important national values. Pursuing common policies necessarily compromises those values, at least for some member states. As a practical matter, one also must question whether it makes sense to move immigration and asylum policy to the Union level. The 25 member states of an enlarged E.U. are vastly different economically, culturally, and demographically. Though common policies by no means imply identical policies, a harmonized approach would struggle to recognize the individual conditions of each member state. Unlike many features of a common market, immigration is one policy area where one size does not fit all.

European integration has been a wonderful achievement, and it is sensible for the E.U. to think big thoughts about its future. It certainly needs to open itself up to the people and to clarify what its institutions are meant to do. In fact, Europe might even need a constitution. But not this kind. With this unfortunate document, the cause of European integration has shifted ominously into reverse.

The member states will find it difficult to reject the draft constitution with as much conviction as circumstances demand. Yet they should be urged to do so, and to demand a redraft in light of the principles and values discussed here. Europe certainly deserves better. The E.U. is at a pivotal moment in its history, and the way in which its leaders craft its constitution could influence its second 50 years as profoundly as World War II influenced its first.



Real-life heroes. Heart-thumping tension.

Vivid details of combat and war-fighting technology.

Plus 32 pages of battlefield photographs

"Karl Zinsmeister's splendid report from within the maelstrom of combat demonstrates how the public can benefit when America's superb military is closely observed by a superb reporter." —*George Will, ABC News*

"A fast-moving story of courage and competence, written by an observer who offers a far different picture from what was presented by our mainstream media. A moving tribute to what free soldiers united in a common cause can accomplish." —*Victor Davis Hanson, military historian, Hoover Institution, Stanford*

"The finest, most objective piece of war journalism I've read since Ernie Pyle in WWII. Tells the story after talking to all grades of soldiers. No one else took time to tell the full story." —*Burton Poole, Lieutenant Colonel, USAF, Ret.*

"The most powerfully real 'war experience' I will probably ever have. I applaud its insight, voluminous factual information, the personal stories collected from many soldiers, and especially the discoveries about the power of love in extreme life and death situations. Karl Zinsmeister has done an invaluable service to America in getting to the heart and soul of this war." —*Mary Lavato, a soldier's mother*

— Available at bookstores everywhere —

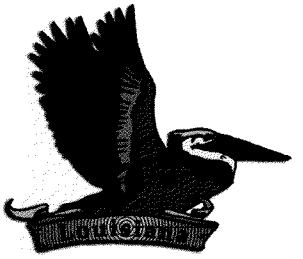
Or order directly from *The American Enterprise* for $20 with free shipping!

Shop online at TAEmag.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—Cicero



Purchase Louisiana? No Thanks!

By Bill Kauffman

During last year's bicentennial hullabaloo over the Louisiana Purchase, the losing side was flushed down the memory hole. Opponents of Thomas Jefferson's French real estate steal, which doubled the American realm for a mere $15 million, have faded to an invisibility rivaling that of contemporary Franco-American culture. (Spaghetti-Os excepted, of course.)

The Senate ratified the Louisiana Purchase by a vote of 24-7, and the House voted to pay for it by 90-25. So who were these few skinflints and skeptics?

Many had read their Montesquieu, who wrote, "It is natural for a republic to have only a small territory, otherwise it cannot long subsist." The country was already too large, they suspected, and further expansion would swell it past the point of viability. John Dawson, the law partner of James Monroe, argued that "no government, formed on the principles of freedom, can pervade all North America."

The Massachusetts Federalist Fisher Ames scoffed that Louisiana, "a great waste, a wilderness unpeopled with any beings except wolves and wandering Indians," would "be too extensive" to govern. The U.S., he marveled, was "rushing like a comet into infinite space." And for what? Ames, a first-class hater of Jefferson and "Imperial Virginia," slyly asked, "Having bought an empire, who is to be emperor?"

Foes of the Purchase were concentrated in the Northeast, where the Mississippi River was considered a parvenu not fit to wash the Hudson's banks.

The Yankees struck the occasional prescient note, warning that Louisiana would plant "the seed of division" in the American soil. The enlarged country would be too big, its sections too various, to exist under any common government beyond the loosest confederation.

As Connecticut Representative Roger Griswold asserted, "It is not consistent with the spirit of a republican government that its territory should be exceedingly large, for as you extend your limits you increase the difficulties arising from a want of that similarity of customs, habits, and manners so essential for its support."

The spirit of separation, condemned by New Englanders with bombast and cannonblast three score years later, was fanned by its representatives in the wake of the Purchase. Atrabilious Timothy Pickering, who despised "the Moonshine philosopher of Monticello," dreamed of a Northern confederacy, "exempt from the corrupt and corrupting influence and oppression of the aristocratic Democrats of the South." As Pickering predicted, "There will be—and our children at farthest will see it—a separation."

The Louisiana Purchase was one of those agenda-bending flashpoints at which the parties reverse roles with head-spinning alacrity. The Federalists, usually friends to a powerful central government, stood up for parsimony and strict construction of the Constitution, while Jefferson and the Republicans pushed through a mammoth land purchase that Jefferson privately conceded to be "beyond the Constitution."

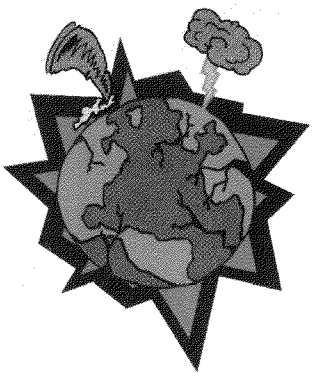
Principles were as elastic as national boundaries. As the historian Jon Kukla writes, "Only five years earlier, Jefferson's party had championed states' rights and strict construction in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. Now their words could have been scripted by the Hamiltonian Federalists."

The Purchase showed Jefferson at his slipperiest. Bothered by the extra-Constitutional nature of what he had done, he fiddled with an authorizing amendment until Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin and others persuaded him that the power to acquire territory was "implied" by the power to make treaties. After a bit of throat-clearing, President Jefferson concluded that "the less that is said about any Constitutional difficulty, the better." The amendment stayed in his desk.

Two years after Mr. Jefferson and Congress bought a new America, the scheme's eloquent defender in the House of Representatives, John Randolph of Virginia, reverted to Jeffersonian principle, saying that "the Louisiana Purchase was the greatest curse that ever befell us." Though Randolph would later declare, "Louisiana is not my country," the bazaar of expansion had a no-returns policy. The thing was done.

Henry Adams wrote that "the Louisiana treaty gave a fatal wound to 'strict construction.'" Conventional historians insist that this was a case of justifiable homicide if ever there was one: An expanding nation needed an expansive Constitution. Infinite space awaited.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Wealth Makes Health

By James Glassman

Early last December, I traveled to Kenya and Uganda with a delegation of health experts to look at efforts to fight AIDS in Africa. What I saw was both depressing and inspirational: overwhelming numbers of the dying and orphaned, but impressive attempts to save them by drug companies, faith-based charities, and U.S. government agencies.

When I returned home, however, I realized that I had missed a big part of the story.

President George W. Bush has committed $15 billion over the next five years to combat HIV and AIDS in Africa and the Caribbean, and well-meaning people are searching, through trial and error, to find the best programs to get the job done. But even if AIDS were eradicated tomorrow, Africa would still suffer terribly from disease, environmental degradation, and natural disasters.

Why do nearly half of all Africans contract malaria every year and 2 million get tuberculosis—diseases practically non-existent in the developed world? It's not the climate. Malaria and TB were horrors in the United States a few decades ago. Why these disparities?

In a word, poverty. And poverty, as we learned in the twentieth century, does not stem from a lack of natural resources (look at Singapore) or a surfeit of bad weather (look at Minnesota). No, poverty grows from bad political and economic systems, and Africa has those in abundance.

And not just Africa. On December 22, 2003, an earthquake registering 6.5 on the Richter scale struck near San Luis Obispo, between Los Angeles and San Francisco. While there was extensive damage to property, only three people were killed.

Four days later, an earthquake of similar magnitude, 6.6 on the scale, hit near the historic city of Bam in Iran. The deaths are still being counted, and about 30,000 have already been confirmed.

Again, the disparity was no accident. Two larger, more urban quakes in California—Loma Prieta in 1989, which devastated parts of San Francisco (6.9 magnitude), and Northridge in 1994, which caused about $30 billion in damage to suburbs northwest of Los Angeles (6.7 magnitude)—killed a total of 120 people. Meanwhile, an earthquake in a far more remote region of Iran in 1997, registering just 5.5 on the Richter scale, killed 1,000.

The correlation between poverty and casualties from natural disasters is intense and glaringly obvious. Scan the database of the Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (www.cred.be), maintained by the University of Louvain in Belgium, and you'll find that—in terms of loss of life in the past century—nine of the ten worst floods, eight of the ten worst wind storms, and eight of the ten worst earthquakes occurred in poor countries. In 2002, half of the 30 deadliest natural disasters occurred in Africa and nine in South Asia (India, Iran, etc.). None took place in North America or Europe.

It's not that developed nations are immune to the forces of nature. To the contrary, in 2002 CRED listed 17 natural disasters in the United States—wind storms, earthquakes, floods, and droughts. That was twice as many as in any other country. But in most of those disasters no one was killed, and deaths overall totaled only a few dozen.

According to the Red Cross, in the last ten years "on average 13 times more people die per reported disaster in [poor] countries than in [wealthy] countries."

Very simply, wealth makes health. Richer countries have the resources to build stronger buildings, to maintain better emergency communications, to rescue the trapped, and to prevent the injured or sick from becoming the dead. Certainly, poorer countries benefit from the wealth of richer countries (through, for example, drugs developed by pharmaceutical firms), but they require their own prosperity.

The same formula applies to the environment. In his book, *The Real Environmental Crisis*, Jack Hollander, professor emeritus of energy and resources at the University of California at Berkeley, shows the link between poverty and environmental degradation. It's obvious to anyone who sees charcoal being burned as fuel in Uganda or dried dung in rural China.

The question is how to improve the economies of poorer nations, and the answer is to end government corruption, advance democracy, and promote free-market principles. Ultimately, those measures will save more lives than noble emergency efforts to battle particular diseases and disasters.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now Playing

Taliban Days

By Josh Larsen

Some movies exist to bear witness—to document an event or way of life that otherwise might be overlooked. Since the United States toppled the Taliban in Afghanistan, plenty of news reports have shed light on what the Afghan people suffered under the regime's rule. Yet no journalism can match the poetic power of *Osama*, the first feature film to be made in Afghanistan since the fall of the Taliban. It's the difference between second-hand news and first-person experience.

Written and directed by Siddiq Barmak, an Afghan filmmaker who fled the country when the Taliban took over, *Osama* follows a widow and her teenage daughter as they struggle to survive in Taliban-run Kabul. Since she has no male escorts to accompany her in public, the woman is forced to scurry in the shadows. Desperate to earn enough to eat, she convinces her daughter to pretend to be a boy so she can get work. And so the girl becomes Osama.

Barmak has cited mainly Asian filmmakers as influences—the Russian great Andrei Tarkovsky and Iranian contemporaries Mohsen Makhmalbaf and Abbas Kiarostami among them—but *Osama* also clearly owes much to the neorealist tradition of post-World War II Italy. Like the films of Vittorio De Sica and Roberto Rossellini, Barmak's picture shuns artifice and rubs your nose in reality. The locations have a dusty verisimilitude; the nonprofessional actors have faces lined with true experience. Indeed, Marina Golbarhari, the girl who plays Osama, was found by Barmak on the street.

Courtesy of United Artists Films

Marina Golbarhari stars as a young girl posing as a boy under Taliban rule in *Osama*.

This isn't to say that *Osama* has the dryness often associated with documentaries. Barmak exhibits a keen eye for the lyrical, loaded image, as when a crowd of women in their blue burkas march down a Kabul street demanding the right to work. They're scattered by water hoses, a brutal scene Osama and her mother watch from a doorway. Later, as Osama's grandmother cuts off the girl's hair, she tells her the story of a boy who walked under a rainbow and became a girl. Barmak briefly cuts back to the protest scene, capturing a rainbow beneath the terrified women's feet.

Osama is rife with such imagery—in a pitiable gesture of hope, Osama plants her cut pigtail in a flowerpot—so that the movie often feels less like a feature film than an impressionistic depiction of the mindset women adopted under the Taliban. "I wish God hadn't created women," the mother says at one point, and Osama makes us understand how someone—the mother of a daughter, no less—could express such despair.

The abuses against women catalogued in *Osama* are so grievous, watching the movie feels like viewing a society that existed ages ago, if not in some sort of parallel, fantastic universe. Aside from the strictures women were placed under, they also had to live with the constant threat of physical and sexual violence. Religious zealots, the Taliban nonetheless found wiggle room when it came to sex. One character we meet is a teacher at Osama's school who keeps a harem of women—sex slaves, in essence—locked up in his house.

The school scenes, in which Osama strives to hide the fact that she's the single girl among hundreds of boys, are chilling in their portrayal of the brainwashing of a generation. Drilled in religious fanaticism and weapons training, these kids are groomed for an adulthood of violence and hatred—burgeoning pod people of a lethal kind.

At least now the spell has been broken. Whatever difficulties Afghanistan currently faces, you would be foolish to claim this had not been a society in need of liberation. *Osama* is many things: a riveting drama, a righteous feminist statement, a sparkling example of the value of foreign films, and, at heart, a call for the United States to stay the course. If Afghanistan were to return to the dark ages depicted here, we'd not only lose a talented filmmaker in Barmak, but also doom thousands of girls like Osama to death, or worse.

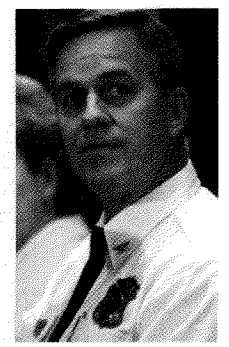
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Beat the Press

The hand that rules the press…rules the country—Judge Learned Hand

Media Cop Out

By John Bloom



Cincinnati Police Chief Tom Streicher attends a news conference on the death of Nathaniel Jones.

Newscom.com/Mike Simons/Getty Images

Nothing spices up the 6 o'clock news better than flailing rubber clubs. Every time I see a grainy videotape of some cops whuppin' up on somebody with riot batons—it's almost an iconic image at this point—I want to scream, "Hey! *Back up the tape.* Hit rewind!" Because something tells me the cops didn't just drive up and say, "Hey, look, a black man, let's beat him up."

The latest bit of ring-around-the-suspect footage comes from Cincinnati, where Nathaniel Jones, a black man, died after a beating by either two cops or six cops. I watched the tape and saw only two cops using billy clubs, although the media kept saying it was six cops. I have to assume there were six cops present on the scene, but only two tried to subdue him with force. That must fall under the category of details too minor to report.

Also considered a minor detail was the fact that Nathaniel Jones was high on PCP. The fact that Nathanial Jones was also stoked on another heart-weakening stimulant, cocaine. That Nathaniel Jones had methanol in his body. (Yes, you can smoke that, too.) That Nathaniel Jones weighed 350 pounds. That Nathaniel Jones had a bad heart. That Nathaniel Jones attacked a cop.

The only reason the cops were there in the first place is that Jones had been unruly with the paramedics who showed up to save his life. (He was passed out on the lawn in front of a White Castle hamburger joint.)

And if all that weren't enough, you would think this one fact would be emphasized: Nathaniel Jones had no internal injuries from the beating. In other words, the cops hit him exactly where they're *supposed* to hit a suspect struggling to resisting arrest.

It took three to four days to get most of this information into the news mill, and by that time it was buried on page 16C.

The initial coverage was all on the order of "Cincinnati Cops Kill Another Black Man, City Uneasy"—implying a connection between the Timothy Thomas case, where white cops shot a black man and which set off three days of rioting in 2001, and the Nathaniel Jones case. Since the incidents bear no resemblance to each other, and since the police tape clearly shows Jones lunging at a cop and resisting arrest, the reporting centered on the latter part of the tape itself, asking why they had to hit him that hard and that many times.

The answer is that they're trained to hit hard. Police training is specifically intended to take the guesswork out of a crisis. The last thing a cop needs to debate in his mind is, "What should I use here? A full swing? A three quarters? A half tap? Fast repetition or slow?" The cop is trained to swing with full force at a specified area—a part of the body that will bring the suspect down but cause no permanent injury.

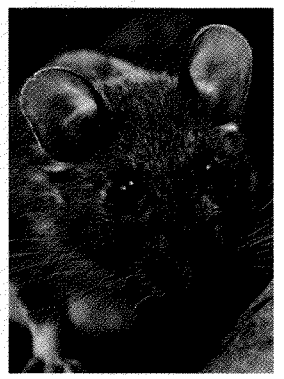
But the more troubling aspect of the media coverage was the constant repetition of: "Eighteen blacks have been killed by Cincinnati cops since 1995." To link all those deaths together, implying some kind of out-of-control Maniac Racist Cop Force, requires the inclusion of cases in which black cops killed black suspects, cops killed in self-defense, cops brought down men who were determined not to be taken alive, and cops killed suspects after being wounded by gunfire themselves.

One Harvey Price killed a 15-year-old with an ax, then engaged in a four-hour standoff with police, then charged officers with a knife before being shot dead. Does Price really belong in a litany of alleged police abuse? What about Daniel Williams, who flagged down a police cruiser driven by Officer Kathleen Conway, punched her in the face, shot her four times in the legs and abdomen with a .357 Magnum, and took over her car? The wounded officer shot Williams twice in the head. Does anyone truly believe that these murderous criminals wouldn't be dead if they had been white?

There are currently four investigations into the death of Nathaniel Jones because of the existence of the tape—made by a police officer who *wanted a record of what was happening.* The irony is that, were there no tape, the networks would have either ignored the story or reported it for one day and forgotten about it. But there's something about those flailing batons that makes the newscast really sing, you know?

John Bloom is a journalist, TV personality, and author. His latest book is Profoundly Disturbing: Shocking Movies That Changed History, *written under his pseudonym, Joe Bob Briggs.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Cornered Rats Fight Hard

By Grover Norquist

There are many good reasons to expect President George W. Bush to win re-election on November 2, 2004. And there is one good reason to believe a Democrat, any Democrat, will defeat him.

The list of Bush strengths begins with the economy, up an impressive 8 percent in the third quarter of 2003. Growth is expected to run 4-5 percent for the next 12 months. And unlike in 1992 when the economy was actually growing on Election Day, now the economy is growing early enough that the entire campaign will be run with a public that knows Bush's economic policies are working. The capture of Saddam Hussein and the decision by Libya to surrender its weapons of mass destruction undermine the effort by Democrats to claim Iraq had nothing to do with the war on terror. No serious primary opponent. No serious scandal. Low inflation. Employment growing. Presidential approval ratings are strong: 63 percent in December 2003, as compared with 51 percent for Clinton and 54 percent for Reagan 11 months before their re-elections. Should be a slam dunk.

The one big reason to bet against Bush is that the Republican coalition and the Democratic coalition face very different incentives this year. The marvels of modern gerrymandering and the five Senate seats in the South being vacated by Democrats ensure that, whatever hap-pens to Bush, the Republicans will control the House and Senate on November 3, 2004. So if Bush loses, taxes will not be raised. Dean cannot enact any new spending program or law that doesn't first run the gauntlet of Tom DeLay and Bill Frist. There will be no new gun control laws. No part of the center-right coalition will be crushed.

There is no part of the Republican coalition that lives off the state or its power. This is a tautology, as the Democrats have held united control of the government from 1932 to 1952, 1960-68, 1976-80 and 1992-94. If there was a part of the GOP dependent on state power, it was asphyxiated or co-opted long ago.

Four more years of Bush and a Republican Congress will likely bring modest tort reform that will potentially cost trial lawyers billions of dollars of lost income.

Private sector unions now extract union dues from only 9 percent of workers in the real economy. Four more years of united GOP government will lead to the expansion of NAFTA to the entire hemisphere and another Doha round of trade liberalization, leading to the unions' further decline. Teamsters will have to compete with Mexican truck drivers. Why pay union dues if you aren't being shielded from competition like this?

Public sector unions face a similar squeeze. Bush and Congress have begun the process of competitively sourcing 850,000 jobs. That's almost half of all civilian workers in the federal government. This will save taxpayers 30 percent of present cost, as the civil servants who now cut the grass for the Pentagon will have to compete for their jobs with private contractors.

Four more years of competitive sourcing at the federal level will inevitably trickle down to the state and local levels, affecting one third of the 15 million state and local workers. For every 100 jobs contracted out, the Association of Federal, State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) loses 37 dues-paying members. If only one fifth of the 5 million jobs available to be competitively sourced are privatized, it costs AFSCME 370,000 times $500, or $185 million.

The coercive utopians of the Left, who rely on judges rather than lawmakers to enact an unpopular social, environmental, and aggressively secular agenda, cannot afford four years of Bush judicial appointments. Heck, just one or two Supreme Court appointments will put them at risk of losing 30 years of "progress."

If the Democrats win the Presidency, they can veto Republican advances. If they lose, they don't eat. The very sinews of their political power will decay with increasing speed. The Democratic coalition will be weaker, shorter, and poorer in 2008 than 2004. This sense of desperation explains the "hatred" and vicious attacks on Bush.

This should not surprise us. Expect the crescendo to grow through 2004. The other team isn't being unreasonable. It is reacting rationally to a real threat to its ability to function. Anything short of placing snipers on the rooftops of D.C. would be an underreaction by the Left.

Cornered rats fight. Hard.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Welfare Economist

Saving Lives in Boarding Schools?

By Paul Offner

For most of the last century, children who have been removed from their families have been placed in foster care. Today, there are about 600,000 such children, and the system is beset by problems—a shortage of competent staff, children who spend much of their youth bouncing around from one family to another, and poor outcomes (high rates of teen pregnancy, for instance). And the system is overburdened. Caseloads have doubled over the last 20 years (largely as a result of the crack epidemic), while the number of foster families has declined.

Faced with these challenges, some reformers propose making greater use of boarding schools. Such institutions exist across the nation—like Boys Town in Nebraska, Philadelphia's Girard College, and the Piney Woods School in Mississippi—and many have good track records in preparing disadvantaged children for college and future careers. But the social services people want no part of that, as Newt Gingrich discovered in 1994 when he spoke out on the subject. Society's sole objective should be to unite children with their families, they argue.

The problem with this position can be summarized in two words: Brianna Blackwood. Brianna was the two-year-old who was taken from a loving foster family and returned to her mentally retarded mother in the District of Columbia three years ago. Two weeks later, Brianna was dead. Her case is hardly unique. Many biological parents are unfit to look after their children either because of drug use, mental illness, family instability, or similar problems.

In such cases, say the family preservationists, the children should be put up for adoption. If only it were that easy. While there is a high demand for healthy white infants, over 60 percent of the children in foster care are minorities. In 1999, the average age of a child waiting to be adopted was eight, and over 25 percent of children were over ten. This is not what the average adoptive parents are looking for. The legislative history of child welfare services, writes Joyce Ladner, former Howard University provost and now a senior scholar at the Brookings Institution, has focused on family reunification and adoption. "But Congress has never grasped the fact that, for an increasing number of children, neither is appropriate to their particular needs and circumstances."

While boarding school opponents like to conjure up images of Dickensian warehouses, these have little relevance to the current situation. The best of these institutions more closely resemble the New England prep schools that cater to this nation's elite. According to the Coalition for Residential Education (CORE), the group representing the schools, about three quarters of their graduates go on to college. Of course, it may not be the schools that deserve the credit—because of personal motivation and innate ability, it may be that the children coming out of Milton Hershey and Piney Woods would have made it on their own. Things could change for the worse if these schools start dealing with unmotivated children referred by the social services system. So rigorous evaluations are needed. Meanwhile, though, shouldn't boarding schools at least be added to the menu of options?

Across the nation, boarding schools are springing up to serve students from high-poverty areas. In many places, the charter school movement has provided the impetus. Sometimes, the boarding option is a response to student needs. In Washington D.C., the Maya Angelou Charter School started out as a day school for teens from the city's poorest neighborhoods. Only later did the managers realize that some of its students needed room and board if they were to succeed there. Today, a fifth of Maya Angelou's students are boarders.

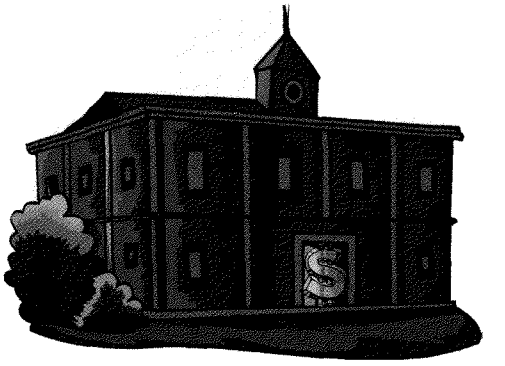
Too many of the children living in our urban ghettoes have values that are well out of the mainstream. That must change if they are to have any chance of getting ahead. Boarding schools, with their emphasis on discipline and mainstream values, may be able to help in that effort.

No one believes that we should empty out foster care, but surely it makes sense to consider boarding schools as one of the options. Foster care is obviously broken, and we face a shortage of foster homes in the future. For many of the children who are poorly served by the current system, adoption is not in the cards. Under these circumstances, shouldn't we try some other approaches and see whether we can come up with something better? These children's lives depend on it.

Paul Offner is a senior researcher at the Urban Institute.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Feeding Frenzy



By Leslie Carbone

The cost of a college education continues to climb, despite—or, more likely, because of—skyrocketing subsidies. According to the College Board, tuition and fees for the 2003-04 academic year at private, four-year institutions reached $19,710—up $1,114, or 6 percent, from the previous year. Prices at public, four-year institutions shot up $579, to $4,694—more than 14 percent. By contrast, the overall Consumer Price Index rose by only 2 percent from October 2002 to October 2003.

These most recent increases are part of a decades-long trend, according to a recent report by the U.S. House Committee on Education and the Workforce, "The College Cost Crisis." In the 1980s, the report says, tuition and fees not only began to rapidly outpace consumer prices but also rose more than three times as fast as median family income. Recent history suggests that the '80s weren't an aberration, but the kick-off of a persistent trend. Since 1981, the cost of a four-year college education has risen by 202 percent, one of the few statistics that can make the 80 percent rise in CPI over the same period look small.

Any number of theories can be advanced to explain the rapid rise of college costs. One of those most often cited is the idea that colleges must increase tuition because of a weak economy; this is particularly the case, the theory goes, with state schools that face budget cuts. Twenty-one percent of Americans consider "decreasing aid from state and local governments" to be a primary factor in soaring college costs, according to the committee's report. The weight of evidence refutes this notion, however. As "The College Cost Crisis" warns, "Tuition increases have persisted regardless of circumstances such as the economy or state funding, and have far outpaced inflation year after year, regardless of whether the economy has been stumbling or thriving.... When times are tough, institutions increase tuition...when times are good, institutions increase tuition...."

Thirty-three percent of Americans believe that college waste is one of the two primary factors contributing to the high price of education; another 26 percent think that institutions are spending too much on construction projects, such as student common areas, dormitories, and sports facilities.

Time magazine recently reported that colleges are spending millions of dollars on luxurious living spaces in order to entice the demanding children of baby boomers. A $28 million dormitory at Chicago's Illinois Institute of Technology boasts a glass elevator that rises to a fifth-floor penthouse featuring a lounge with leather sofas and a 50-inch plasma television. A wireless Internet connection informs students when their laundry is done. Exclaims an 18-year-old resident, "I was, like, 'Wow, this is so cool.'"

Stories like this certainly give credence to the waste theory, but monumental malfeasance needs an enabler. College administrators have found one in a federal government that for decades has responded to soaring prices by increasing subsidies. As then-Secretary of Education William Bennett explained in 1987, "increases in financial aid in recent years have enabled colleges and universities blithely to raise tuitions, confident that federal loan subsidies would help cushion the increase." And they have.

Until the mid 1960s, federal subsidies for higher education primarily underwrote items identified as national priorities, most notably security and defense. Subject areas range from engineering to the cultures and languages of areas deemed vital to national interests. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 provided large subsidies in the form of loans, grants, and fellowships, to states and institutions, as well as directly to students.

Then higher education itself was redefined as a national priority. As it did in so many other areas, President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program vastly expanded the federal role in education. His Higher Education Act of 1965 appropriated $804 million to subsidize a panorama of para-educational activity including facility construction, community service, and library assistance, training, and research.

As John Andrew writes in *Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society*, "Too often Johnson deliberately understated the continuing costs of new programs and requested only modest funding, hoping that once under way neither Congress

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nor the public would desert them." Regrettably, Johnson's political calculation and cynical view of humanity were right on the mark. By 1970, federal higher education spending had reached $1.4 billion, and 1983's $14.5 billion represented a ten-fold increase over the 1970 number.

Twenty years later even that figure looks paltry, as federal higher education subsidies reached approximately $90 billion in 2003, nearly $65 billion of it paid directly to students, with $15 billion in the form of grants and $48 billion as loans. According to the College Board, the federal government now provides 68 percent of direct student aid.

Pell grants are considered the cornerstone of federal student aid. Intended only for students from low-income families, Pell grants are means-tested. Unlike loans, they do not need to be repaid. During the 2002-03 academic year, Pell grant funding reached $11.7 billion, a 17 percent increase over the year before, which saw a 23 percent increase of its own the previous year. There is an upper limit to how much a student can receive in Pell grant aid. In 2003, the limit was $4,050. Twenty years earlier, it was less than one half that amount at $1,800, and total Pell grant funding was $2.4 billion, roughly one-fifth what it is now.

Approximately 40 percent of all college loans—public and private—come through the federal government's subsidized Stafford Loan Program. The government pays the interest on these loans while the student is in school and continues to subsidize it afterwards. Intended to make college more affordable, these giveaways have done the opposite. "The College Cost Crisis" states that in the

> 10-year period ending in 2001-2002, the Consumer Price Index increased by 30 percent, while median family income increased by 40 percent. *In that same time period, federal student aid increased by 161 percent.* There is no question that the federal contribution to student aid programs has been significant, and has increased much more quickly than the rate of inflation in order to keep pace with college costs. However, college costs have risen dramatically over the past three decades, and even the immense federal contribution has struggled to keep pace with skyrocketing tuition increases.

Colleges will continue to raise tuition as long as they know the government will pay.

Herein lies the problem. As long as the government continues to give colleges what they ask for, they'll keep asking. Like all idols, money never satisfies; on the contrary, it only increases the desire for itself. College administrators are not suddenly going to reach some level of tuition where they're satisfied; they're going to keep on increasing it as long as they know that the government will pay. High rates of taxation are going to continue to oppress families, particularly those of the middle class. And newly minted alumni are going to start their careers and their families under increasing burdens of debt.

The social and educational consequences will continue to be disastrous. Federal aid has already removed most of colleges' accountability to students and parents. The result has been a mountain of absurdity, as colleges offer courses like "Fetishism, Gender, Sexuality, and Capitalism" (University of Chicago), "Lesbian Communities and Identities" (Stanford), and "Daytime Serials: Family and Social Roles" (University of Wisconsin). The less students and their families contribute directly to their educational costs, the freer institutions are to pass off this silliness as scholarship.

Individuals and families will continue to grow more and more dependent on government—and consider it a normal state of affairs. As with so many other necessities—health care, elder care, housing—bollixed by government meddling, federally funded education conditions the citizenry to expect a nanny state that provides every necessity—and more. Indeed, even faced with the facts that government involvement in these areas has *increased* costs while diminishing quality, the constant refrain is that government must support colleges because they're so important. Of course they're important—and that's why government shouldn't be allowed to continue to do them positive harm.

Ever-increasing taxes will make government aid more of a necessity, as people are unable to afford to provide for themselves. The result is what twentieth-century welfare state critic Wilhelm Roepke called "an absurd two-way pumping of money when the state robs nearly everybody and pays nearly everybody, so that no one knows in the end whether he has gained or lost in the game."

On top of the tax burden comes the debt burden. Graduating five and six digits in debt, young Americans face limited choices. Some are forced to reject lower paying public service work, others delay marriage and children. Even worse, it accustoms people to living in debt, teaching that debt is a necessary evil of modern life, or even simply the approved pathway to instant gratification.

There is a better way. Continuing to feed educational institutions' insatiable appetite for money only encourages more and more tuition increases—and all the woes that attend government giveaways. Congress must simply stop trying to keep up with rampant tuition hikes—and thereby force colleges to rein in their costs.

Leslie Carbone is author of the forthcoming Slaying Leviathan: The Moral Case for Tax Reform.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why FOX News Beat the Mainstream Media

Excerpted from the Autumn 2003 City Journal *article, "We're Not Losing the Culture Wars Anymore," by Brian Anderson.*

Since its 1996 launch, Rupert Murdoch's FOX News Channel has provided what its visionary CEO Roger Ailes calls a "haven" for viewers fed up with the liberal bias of the news media—potentially a massive audience, since the mainstream media stand well to the American people's left.

Watch FOX for just a few hours and you encounter a conservative presence unlike anything on TV. Where CBS and CNN would lead a news item about an impending execution with a candlelight vigil of death-penalty protesters, at FOX "it is *de rigueur* that we put in the lead why that person is being executed," senior vice president for news John Moody noted a while back.

FOX viewers will see Republican politicians and conservative pundits sought out for meaningful discussions, skepticism voiced about environmentalist doomsaying, religion treated with respect, pro-life views given airtime—and much else they'd never find on other networks.

FOX's conservatism helps it scoop competitors on stories they get wrong or miss entirely because of liberal bias. In April 2002, the mainstream media rushed to report an Israeli "massacre" of Palestinian civilians in a refugee camp in the West Bank city of Jenin. FOX uniquely—and correctly, it turned out—treated the massacre charge with skepticism. "We try to avoid falling for the conventional liberal wisdom in journalistic circles—in this case the conventional wisdom 'Israeli bad, Palestinian good,'" says daytime anchorman David Asman. "Too often ideology shapes the tendency to jump to a conclusion—something we try to be aware of in our own case, too."

Nowhere does FOX differ more radically from the mainstream television and press than in its robustly pro-U.S. coverage of the war on terror. After September 11, the American flag appeared everywhere, from the lapels of the anchormen to the corner of the screen. Ailes himself wrote to President Bush, urging him to strike back hard against al-Qaeda. On-air personalities and reporters freely referred to "our" troops instead of "U.S. forces," and Islamist "terrorists" and "evildoers" instead of "militants." Such open displays of patriotism are anathema to today's liberal journalists, who see "taking sides" as a betrayal of journalistic objectivity.

Asman demurs. For the free media to take sides against an enemy bent on eradicating the free society itself, he argues, isn't unfair or culturally biased; it is the only possible logical and moral stance. And to call bin Laden a "militant," as Reuters does, is to betray the truth, not uphold it. "Terrorism is terrorism," Asman says crisply. "We know what it is, and we know how to define it, just as our viewers know what it is. So we're not going to play with them: When we see an act of terror, we're going to call it terror." On television news, anyway, FOX alone seemed to grasp this essential point. Says Asman: "CNN, MSNBC, the media generally were not declarative enough in calling a spade a spade."

Though Ted Turner once boasted he'd "squish Murdoch like a bug," FOX News now runs laps around CNN.

FOX's very tone conveys its difference from the networks' worldview. "FOX News lacks the sense of out-of-touch elitism that makes many Americans, whatever their politics, annoyed with the news media," maintains media critic Gene Veith. "FOX reporters almost never condescend to viewers," he observes. "The other networks do so all the time, peering down on the vulgar masses from social height (think Peter Jennings) or deigning to enlighten the public about things that only they understand (think Peter Arnett)." This tone doesn't mark only FOX's populist shows, like pugnacious superstar Bill O'Reilly's. Even when FOX goes upscale, in Brit Hume's urbane nightly "Special Report," for example, the civility elevates rather than belittles the viewer. For Ailes, FOX's anti-elitism is key. "There's a whole country that elitists will never acknowledge," he told the *New York Times Magazine*. "What people resent deeply out there are those in the 'blue' states thinking they're smarter."

The "fair and balanced" approach that the news channel trumpets in its slogan is part of this iconoclastic tone, too. Sure, the anchor is almost always a conservative, but there's always a liberal on hand, too. By contrast, notes political consultant

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and FOX contributor Dick Morris, "The other networks offer just one point of view, which they claim is objective." Not only does the FOX approach make clear that there is always more than one point of view, but it also puts the network's liberal guests in the position of having to defend their views—something that almost never happens on other networks.

Viewers clearly like what they see. Ratings, already climbing since the station debuted in 1996, really began to rocket upward after 9/11 and blasted into orbit with Operation Iraqi Freedom. "In the Iraqi war," Dick Morris explains, "the viewing audience truly saw how incredibly biased the other networks were: 'Turkey did not let us through, the plan was flawed, we attacked with too few troops, our supply lines weren't secure, the army would run out of rations and ammo, the Iraqis would use poison gas, the oil wells would go up in flames, there would be street-to-street fighting in Baghdad, the museum lost its priceless artifacts to looters,' and now we're onto this new theme that 'Iraq is a quagmire' and that there 'aren't any weapons of mass destruction' and that 'Bush lied'—and all the while, thanks in part to FOX News, Americans are seeing with their own eyes how much this is crazy spin." The yawning gulf separating reality and the mainstream media during the war and its aftermath, Morris believes, "will kill the other networks in the immediate future—to FOX's benefit."

The numbers make clear just how stunning FOX's rise has been. Starting with access to only 17 million homes (compared with CNN's 70 million) in 1996, the news channel would reach 65 million homes by 2001 and had already started to turn a profit. A year later, profits hit $70 million and are expected to double in 2003. Though CNN founder Ted Turner once boasted he'd "squish Murdoch like a bug," FOX News has outpaced its chief cable news rival in the ratings since September 11 and now runs

For CEO Roger Ailes, FOX's anti-elitism is the key to its success.

laps around it. This past June, FOX won a whopping 51 percent of the prime-time cable news audience—more than CNN, CNN Headline News, and MSNBC *combined*. The station's powerhouse, "The O'Reilly Factor," averages around 3 million viewers every night, and during Operation Iraqi Freedom the "no spin zone" drew as many as 7 million on a given night. CNN's Larry King, once the king of cable, has slipped to 1.3 million nightly viewers. Cheery "FOX and Friends" has even edged out CBS's "Early Show" in the ratings a few times, despite the fact that CBS is free, while FOX is available only on cable and satellite (and not every operator carries it). While the total viewership for ABC, CBS, and NBC news—more than 25 million—still dwarfs FOX's viewers, the networks are hemorrhaging. CBS News just suffered its lousiest ratings period ever, down 600,000 viewers; 1.1 million fewer people watch the three network news programs today than 12 months ago.

FOX enjoys especially high numbers among advertiser-coveted 25- to 54-year-old viewers, and it is attracting even younger news junkies. As one CNN producer admits, FOX is "more in touch with the younger age group, not just the 25–54 demo, but probably the 18-year-olds." Even more attractive to advertisers, FOX viewers stay tuned for 20 to 25 minutes before clicking away; CNN watchers stay only ten minutes. FOX's typical viewer also makes more money on average—nearly $60,000 a year—than those of its main cable rivals.

Not only conservatives like what they see. A new Pew Research Center survey shows that, of the 22 percent of Americans who now get most of their news from FOX (compared with a combined 32 percent for the networks), only 46 percent call themselves "conservative," only slightly higher than the 40 percent of CNN fans who do so. FOX is thus exposing many centrists (32 percent of its regular viewers) and liberals (18 percent) to conservative ideas and opinions they would not regularly find elsewhere in the television news—and some of those folks could be liking the conservative worldview as well as the professionalism of the staff and veracity of the programming.

FOX News is driving liberals wild. Former vice president Al Gore likens FOX to an evil right-wing "fifth column," and he yearns to set up a left-wing competitor—as if a left-wing media didn't already exist. Comedian and activist Al Franken's new book *Lies and the Lying Liars Who Tell Them* is one long jeremiad against Murdoch's network. *Washington Post* media critic Tom Shales calls FOX a "propaganda mill." Sixties radical and Columbia Journalism School professor Todd Gitlin worries that FOX "emboldens the right wing to feel justified and confident they can promote their policies." "There's room for conservative talk radio on television," allows CNN anchor Aaron Brown, the very embodiment of the elite journalist with, in Roger Ailes's salty phrase, "a pick up their ass." "But I don't think anyone ought to pretend it's the *New York Times* or CNN," Brown sniffs.

Everyday citizens, however, have a very different view. According to a new Rasmussen poll, 72 percent of Americans find FOX News reliable. This compares very favorably to the fewer than half of Americans who believe that the *New York Times* reliably conveys the truth. With its circulation down 5 percent since March 2002, it is the unremitting front-page partisanship of liberal publications like the *Times* that has severely tarnished their reputations and caused the public to lose trust in their credibility.

Thankfully, news consumers now have other places to go.

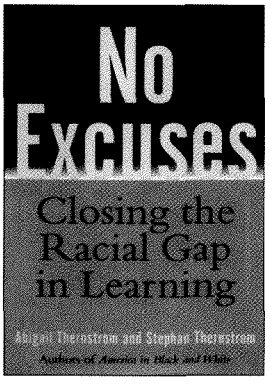
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BookTalk

EDUCATION TRAGEDIES

By Susanna Dokupil

No Excuses: Closing the Racial Gap in Learning
By Abigail and Stephan Thernstrom
Simon & Schuster, 352 pages, $26



Few Americans today would disagree that people of all races should have an equal chance to succeed in our society and that education is the key to a lucrative professional career. Unfortunately, achievement often closely tracks racial lines. *No Excuses*, the latest book by Abigail and Stephan Thernstrom, examines this persistent racial gap and its underlying causes.

Scores on the National Assessment of Education Progress exam, which tests basic skills in core subjects, reveal that black and Hispanic high school seniors scored similarly to white and Asian eighth graders—a four-year knowledge gap. A disproportionately large number of blacks and Hispanics score below their white and Asian counterparts in every subject area, and evidence suggests efforts to narrow this gap have failed so far.

Are standardized tests racially biased? Racial disparities alone, say the Thernstroms, do not indicate discrimination, and theories explaining disparate performance do not hold up under close scrutiny. But, more to the point, they argue, all students, regardless of race, need to learn basic math and reading skills and how to demonstrate that knowledge on a test. And an alarming number of black, white, and Hispanic students drop out of college because they simply can't do the work.

Race itself, of course, poses no barrier to achievement. So, why are the public schools failing to prepare our children for college and the professional world? The obstacles to learning apparently come from the students' learning environment.

First, the Thernstroms argue that teachers themselves need more training in effective communication and in their subject areas. They also believe the contemporary obsession with smaller class sizes hurts students when schools quickly hire mediocre instructors just to bring down the teacher-student ratio. Another reason for poor teacher quality is a lack of incentives. Public schools hire and fire unionized teachers on the basis of seniority, not efficacy. And teachers feel social pressure from not to exceed minimum expectations because it reflects poorly on their peers.

Second, the Thernstroms demonstrate that curricula no longer emphasize the fundamentals. Some principals and teachers oppose correcting student spelling for fear of limiting creative expression. Others have discarded phonics in reading instruction. In California, Texas, New York, Arizona, Virginia, and Michigan, parents have fought "fuzzy math," where students need only give estimates, not precise answers.

Third, the book identifies cultural influences that encourage or discourage academic excellence. Asian students typically do extremely well in school and on standardized tests. Why? Because their parents expect and require it. Even in disadvantaged inner cities, Asian students consistently outperform black, Hispanic, and white students. Black students often experience peer pressure not to "act white" by doing well in school.

Perhaps most disturbingly, the racial gap appears as soon as children start school. Studies reveal that blacks and Hispanics enter kindergarten scoring lower in reading, math, and general knowledge than their white and Asian counterparts. Poverty alone is not the reason—research suggests the most common risk factor is living with only one parent. How parents interact with their children, and how much, in those early years affects cognitive and behavioral development for the child's entire life.

Not all children come from families that emphasize the importance of hard work, paying attention in school, speaking proper English, and dressing and behaving acceptably. Yet schools have the nearly impossible task of filling these cultural gaps, trying to give students from any background the chance to succeed.

Some schools have accomplished the impossible. The Thernstroms describe several remarkable ones serving disadvantaged children, such as the KIPP ("Knowledge Is Power Program") Academy in major urban areas around the country and the North Star Academy in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Newark, New Jersey. These schools often select their students by lottery, yet they produce outstanding results on tests.

Unlike public schools, these private programs can require students to work longer hours and parents to support the school's high standards. They can ask teachers to be on call for students who need help after school. And, because the schools have the leverage to threaten students with expulsion, they can create a social culture that values accomplishment, discipline, respect for teachers and other students, paying attention in class, and finishing homework.

Fans of the Thernstroms' previous books will recognize their precise and thoughtful approach to analyzing research. This book presents in stark relief a problem often glossed over by educational elites. *No Excuses* compels us to acknowledge and address the unpopular and hard questions that must be answered if we hope to eradicate barriers to the future of so many of this country's children.

Susanna Dokupil is an attorney and writer in Houston, Texas.

MUSIC TO SO MANY EARS

By Randy Boyagoda

Beethoven's Ninth: A Political History
By Esteban Buch; translated by Richard Miller
University of Chicago Press, 344 pages, $27.50

Early in his study of the most famous segment of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, Esteban Buch explains: "The communists hear in [the "Ode to Joy"] the gospel of a classless world, Catholics hear the Gospel itself, democrats hear it as the voice of democracy." The poetry of Friedrich von Schiller, which provides the work with its vocal component, imagines "All men will become brothers / At the gentle touch of [joy's] wing." But, as Buch shows us, men have become brothers only in finding within the "Ode" a glorious harmony through which they have sought to amplify their own pursuits.

Buch combines musical analysis with cultural and historical contexts, as he investigates how the "Ode" and its composer have fared since the Ninth's initial performance on May 7, 1824 at the Kärthnerthor Theater in Vienna. There, the composer himself "stood totally deaf and absorbed in the score…[until] Karoline Unger took his arm and turned him around to face the audience that was applauding him."

The opening chapters, on music and politics in eighteenth-century England and France, are meant to introduce the reader to the interrelations of state politics, musical composition, and collective patriotism. But Buch's deft explanation of these matters as they relate directly to Beethoven's own milieu actually render these sections unnecessary, as we learn of how the composer participated in the evolving tradition of state-invested music while radically innovating it. Buch explains that "the establishment of a narrative thread leading from conflict to its resolution is at the crux of the transformation of the symphonic form that is one of Beethoven's principal contributions to musical history."

Buch devotes the main section of the book to the political reception of the "Ode." Much of the nineteenth century was marked by claims from competing camps over the work's true import. Buch judiciously quotes from primary sources in recreating a roster as impressive as it is cacophonous: We find admirers among adherents of Saint-Simon and of the Catholic Church, internationalists and early Marxists, individual estimations from Schumann, Berlioz, and Nietzsche.

Easily the most complicated issue that Buch explores is the "double hearing" of the "Ode" during the Third Reich. Goebbels instructed the Berlin Philharmonic to perform the Ninth for Hitler's birthday in 1937. Six years later, a Jewish child choir sang the "Ode to Joy" in a concentration camp latrine. To sharpen his point about the dangerous universality of the piece, Buch quotes a jarring excerpt from the memoirs of an Auschwitz survivor who had been in the choir.

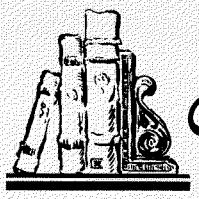
> Sometimes I think of [singing the "Ode" in the latrine] as a magnificent demonstration of the spirit of universal values that can survive even the most inhuman deeds ever performed by the hand of man…. But sometimes I have doubts about that interpretation. Perhaps the choice was the expression of an extreme sarcasm, an almost satanic gesture.

After a solid treatment of Beethoven's trajectory through the second half of the twentieth century, marred only by a nagging meditation on the European Union's connection to the Ninth (the E.U. anthem is the theme of the "Ode"), Buch offers a brief, cogent conclusion. He assesses both Beethoven's legacy and his own attempt to explain it, and reflects that "making the history of a symbol into a symbol of history is a delicate operation." Buch has done the job with a great deal of precision and care, and one hopes that more cultural historians will follow his example.

Buch ends on a strangely hopeful note: He challenges us to be "prepared to accept the idea that one day…[the Ninth] may well fall silent without that necessarily being a catastrophe." The implication, it seems, is that on that day, all men will have become brothers, a harmony felt instead of heard.

Randy Boyagoda is a cultural writer for publications in the U.S. and Canada.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Off The Shelf

Classic, overlooked, newly relevant, or otherwise deserving older books

DIARY OF DISCOVERY

By Eli Lehrer

The Lewis and Clark Journals: An American Epic of Discovery
By Meriwether Lewis and William Clark; edited and with an introduction by Gary E. Moulton
University of Nebraska Press, 413 pages, $29.95

Modern men and women live in fear of spiders, darkness, terrorist attacks, disease, and other assorted ills. Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and their Corps of Discovery feared almost nothing. Consider this: Less than two months after they crossed the Mississippi and entered the American frontier, Lewis and Clark suffered two desertions from their party and found themselves helpless when a sergeant fell sick and died from a mysterious intestinal illness. On August 24, 1804 Lewis wrote that the expedition's clock (a key navigational aid) had stopped working. After all this, he and Clark decided to camp on a hill that local Indians believed to be haunted before they pressed on into uncharted terrain.

Their expedition's diaries, recently released in a new trade edition, offer insight into this utterly fearless mindset and the American character the explorers came to exemplify.

For all the attention Lewis and Clark draw today, their expedition had only a limited impact: The men's diaries sold only about 1,500 copies before the twentieth century. While their expedition did solidify America's claim on Thomas Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase, the explorers never found the all-water route across North America many had hoped might exist. The route they followed, indeed, had so little commercial value that it remains largely undeveloped today. (After St. Louis, the push-off point, Missoula, Montana is the largest town on their route.)

The intrepid explorers' story still offers plenty to admire. Lewis and Clark were both experienced outdoorsmen and inseparable comrades. Lewis emerges as the more bookish and intellectual of the two and Clark as the superior military leader. Together, they made a perfect team; not a single diary entry records a disagreement between the two.

Neither Lewis nor Clark possessed great literary skills but, read along with writings by a few other members of their expedition (most prominently those of Sergeant Charles Ordway), their diaries offer a stunning narrative of high adventure.

Along the way readers can witness moments of slapstick comedy with unruly grizzly bears, as well as a handful of tragedies, plenty of friendly Indians, and a few hostile ones. With one exception—a decision to steal a much-needed canoe from some hard-bargaining Indians—the expedition leaders do nothing that would raise a Sunday school teacher's eyebrows. A thirst for knowledge about the plants, animals, and peoples—not a lust for gold or even national glory—guides the explorers.

The diaries reveal many narratives that don't fit very well into modern politically correct history books. The expedition was almost entirely the work of white men. Sacagawea, who along with her French-Canadian husband, Charbonneau, served as interpreters for the party, was a minor figure who helped the expedition mostly through her presence alone. (Indians the Corps encountered realized that a mother with a baby was not a likely sign of a party bent on military conquest.) She did little to guide the party and often goes unmentioned in the collective diaries for months at a time. York, a black slave who belonged to Clark, appears to have done little besides carry supplies and help around camp.

On the other hand, Ordway, who ranked third in command in the expedition and kept the most consistent diary, emerges as an unsung hero. He's frequently seen doing vital tasks around the periphery—from leading small scouting parties to supervising winter-camp construction—and offers a lucid and fact-filled narrative that has the "just the facts ma'am" quality of a well-written police report.

While Lewis and Clark provided the brains and the leadership for the expedition, the little known Ordway gave it a backbone.

The story of Lewis and Clark and their Corps of Discovery has value not so much because it made history, but rather because the explorers so perfectly embody the character of the young republic they represented: ambitious, friendly, mindful of morals, respectful of individuals, compassionate, and a bit cocksure.

All in all, not a bad combination.

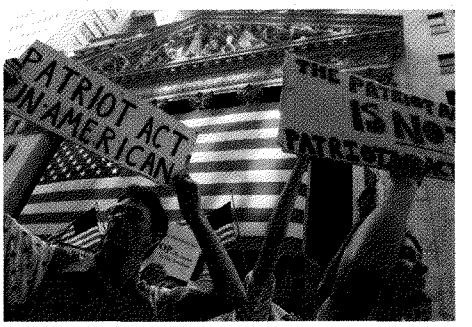
Eli Lehrer is a TAE *associate editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Edited by Eli Lehrer

the Digest

Summaries of important new research from the nation's universities, think tanks, and investigative publications



POLITICS

Security at What Price?

John Yoo and Eric Posner, "The Patriot Act under Fire," *AEI on the Issues*, December 2003 (aei.org)

Ever since its inception in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, the USA Patriot Act has been a magnet for criticism of the Bush administration's conduct in the war on terror at home. Columnists ranging from Maureen Dowd to William Safire have denounced the Act's alleged suspension of civil liberties, and Democratic Presidential front-runner Howard Dean has called it "morally wrong," "shameful," and "un-Constitutional." But does the grim rhetoric surrounding denunciations of the Patriot Act bear any resemblance to reality?

"Putting aside the hysterics," write AEI scholar John Yoo and University of Chicago law professor Eric Posner, "the worst thing about the Patriot Act is its Orwellian name." Yoo and Posner argue that the supposed marginal reductions in peacetime liberties due to the Patriot Act are "a reasonable price to pay for a valuable weapon against al-Qaeda."

These reductions in liberties turn out to be quite minor, if indeed they can be said to be reductions at all, write Yoo and Posner. For instance, the act amends the 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) to eliminate the wall of separation preventing law enforcement and counterintelligence officials from pooling information. Other modifications of FISA merely expand it to include business or other records relevant to terrorism investigations, or update its language to account for new communications technology.

Critics of the Patriot Act have argued that not even a small diminishment of liberties can be justified, even during emergencies. History doesn't bear out that judgment, however. "Civil liberties throughout our history have always expanded in peacetime and contracted during emergencies," claim Yoo and Posner, citing the Civil War, the two World Wars, and the Cold War as precedent. After the emergency passes, either Congress and the President voluntarily give up their temporary powers, or, "when they do not, the courts step in."

ECONOMICS AND REGULATION

Unneeded Protections

Claude Barfield, *High-Tech Protectionism: The Irrationality of Antidumping Laws*, AEI Press, 2003 (aei.org)

Under the World Trade Organization regime that currently governs trade among most major countries, nations can stem the flow of goods and services by declaring other nations' trade practices "unfair." Most unfair trade practices are based on accusations of "dumping"—selling a good below cost in order to damage another nation's industrial base.

AEI's Claude Barfield focuses on efforts to protect high-tech industries including supercomputers, flat panel displays, semi-conductors, and steel. (He counts steel as a high-tech good because of its increasingly complex production processes.) Looking at each industry he finds that the costs of protecting a given industry far outweighed whatever benefits Americans received. Protecting uncompetitive steel producers, for example, may have cost Americans as much as $70 billion over the past ten years.

Some industries asking for protection don't even seem to need it: American supercomputer makers have almost locked the Japanese out of the U.S. market and now enjoy such a large market share worldwide that Barfield sees a "growing risk of anti-competitive behavior" by American companies.

Barfield's preferred solution is to end the use of dumping-related trade sanctions altogether: Foreign firms that behave in a truly anticompetitive fashion could still face lawsuits under the same anti-trust laws that apply to domestic firms. Barring this, he proposes raising the standard of evidence required to implement retaliatory trade barriers and giving the President more direct control over trade restrictions. Finally, if a domestic industry truly does need protection to survive, policymakers should substitute "safeguard actions" (such as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the tariffs that covered steel for most of 2003), which Barfield terms a nakedly honest way of stating that a certain industry needs some protection to rebuild and restructure.

Labor Moves Rightward?

Various labor union staff members, "Multi-Union Growth Partnership," New Unity Partnership, 2003 (rankfile.net)

Ever since the 1950s, a combination of a less-friendly legal environment, internal corruption, economic change, and growing government control over workplace regulation has sent American organized labor into a steep decline. While about a third of the workforce belonged to unions in 1956, less than 15 percent does today. John Sweeney, President of the AFL-CIO, has swung the massive labor federation hard to the left but has no membership gains to show for it.

In an effort to improve organized labor's standing, the heads of five major unions (ranging from the Service Employees International Union to the Carpenters Union), meeting during late 2003, agreed to form the New Unity Partnership in an effort to expand the American labor movement.

According to the outline from the organizers' meeting, the partnership will hire a small staff of its own to focus organizing efforts on reasonably narrow geographic areas and highly specific industries that the unions believe are ripe for organizing. The group also wants the AFL-CIO to focus on growing the union movement and increasing union presence in industries while eliminating much of its political work disconnected from organizing, and on cutting its own bureaucracy by reducing its own policy development, international outreach, and civil rights departments. The AFL-CIO's local and regional bureaucracy—central labor councils—would also be cut back significantly under the New Unity Partnership's proposals. Instead, local and national unions would gain significantly more power. The union leaders also strike a rightward course, noting that meetings with Karl Rove and "moderate Republicans" in Congress are among the new group's top goals. The group also appears ready to consider leaving the AFL-CIO if its agenda is not adopted.

SOCIETY

No More Mr. Nice Regulator

Frederick Hess, "The Case For Being Mean," *AEI on the Issues*, December 2003 (aei.org)

Since the 2002 No Child Left Behind Act, student performance testing has become a national mandate in American schools. Frederick Hess, an AEI scholar, says that there are two ways to hold schools accountable: a "nice" method that uses test measurements only for information and a "mean" one that threatens school personnel with job loss and students with extra work when they don't measure up.

Hess argues that real school reform in the United States will require a "mean" approach to accountability that "harnesses self-interest of students and educators to refocus schools and redefine… expectations." Policy, Hess believes, should make "a lack of improvement so unpleasant for local officials" that they will "take those painful steps [such as firing teachers, canceling programs, and denying students diplomas] that are regarded as 'unrealistic' most of the time."

Hess admits, however, that being tough isn't always easy: It produces "broad and widely dispersed" benefits, along with highly visible costs for individual teachers and students. As a result, he says, many accountability regimes have been dumbed down following protests from parents and minority activists: Sanctions can become weak or non-existent, test questions can be made easier, and students can be given almost unlimited second chances. Finally, some students are simply allowed to graduate without meeting the standards.

Rather than compromise and thereby abandon "mean" accountability, Hess argues that proponents of high standards should admit that their system has some defects, but not allow that to detract from their basic position. Defining what students must know, after all, is an "ambiguous and value-laden exercise," that will never reach a state of perfection. This fact, however, should not stop advocates of rigor from demanding meaningful high-stakes testing. The ultimate question, Hess writes, is whether accountability testing will fulfill its potential, "or became another hollow rite of spring."

NATIONAL SECURITY

Card Carrying Americans

Amitai Etzioni et al., "Reliable Identification for Homeland Protection and Collateral Gains," in *Creating a Trusted Network for Homeland Security*, The Markle Foundation, December 2003 (markle.org)

Since 9/11, many Americans have worried about the measures governments use to separate terrorists and other potential wrongdoers from ordinary citizens and visitors going about their business. In an appendix to a longer report on how to distribute intelligence data related to homeland security, a group of scholars, activists, political leaders, and corporate executives led by George Washington University professor Amitai Etzioni, examine ways to improve "purposeful identification," a means of verifying one's identity in order to gain access to a controlled area such as an airport, school, or country of which one is not a citizen.

The authors identify a wide range of problems with current efforts to protect sensitive facilities, e.g., government agents using homemade credentials have crossed borders and entered federal buildings—even secure military facili-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties. Instead of calling for a specific national ID card, which the authors believe would be too easy to manipulate, they support a variety of measures to make current ID cards more secure. Among them:

• Standardize "breeder documents" and make them electronically searchable throughout the country: Breeder documents, primarily birth certificates, are used to get other forms of ID such as drivers' licenses and passports. Right now, the U.S. has a profusion of different forms and formats for these documents; this makes it almost impossible for DMV personnel and passport clerks to sort the forged from the authentic. A standardized form and national database would make this process easier.

• Improve drivers' license standards: Drivers' licenses, currently the most used identity documents in the U.S., have almost no common standards, the panel finds. Etzioni and the others report that they are also too easy to obtain with a false Social Security number and too easy for illegal aliens to use. They also believe that DMV personnel should receive better training.

• Seek assistance from the private sector: The government should look to the private sector to provide many kinds of identification, including some that government agencies might accept.

These steps, the panel argues, would also result in some collateral gains by reducing credit card and voter fraud, making it easier to track fugitives, and otherwise making the nation safer and more secure.

Fear of a New Weapon

Michael Abrams, "Dawn of the E-Bomb," *IEEE Spectrum*, Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, November 2003 (spectrum.ieee.org)

During Operation Iraqi Freedom, the U.S. military used a high-power microwave (HPM) weapon to knock out an Iraqi television station. In so doing, Abrams contends, the U.S. ushered in a new era of warfare.

An HPM weapon or, as he terms it, "E-bomb," uses a blast of electromagnetic radiation so strong that it overloads electrical circuitry. (Nuclear weapons also generate electromagnetic pulses.) These microwaves can pass through steel, concrete, and most other building materials, but the types of metallic conductors used in computer chips and electrical systems absorb them and are often melted as a result. An attack with a microwave weapon would cause only brief pain when used against people but would entirely destroy computer circuitry.

Two major types of HPM weapons exist: ultrawideband and narrowband. Ultrawideband weapons are the types of bombs the U.S. military already stockpiles: They go off once and destroy just about any electronics within their area of reach. (The area of effect varies with the amount of power given to the microwave.)

Narrowband weapons, on the other hand, work much more like lasers: They emit only one frequency and can be aimed at particular targets like an enemy's field headquarters. While some have proven effective in laboratory experiments, they currently need more power than can be easily provided on the battlefield.

Several military thinkers with whom Abrams has spoken agree that HPM weapons will be very useful in future wars, but he fears that "it's the U.S. military—as well as U.S. financial institutions, PCs, and Game Boys—that will be most susceptible to such weapons." At least 20 countries are currently developing HPM weapons, and America's high-tech military no longer shields all of its systems against them due to a decreased fear of nuclear attack.

Some, however, believe that incredibly high power requirements will keep the narrowband weapon from becoming anything more than a curiosity.

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

DDT Fight

John Pollock, "Dying to be Politically Correct," *Acumen: A Journal of the Life Sciences*, September/October 2003 (acumenjournal.com)

Governments and public health experts in the middle of the twentieth century hailed the pesticide DDT as a miracle for fighting the insects that carry malaria and a host of other deadly diseases. In the three decades following its 1939 discovery, the pesticide was credited with saving somewhere between 60 and 500 million lives. Rachel Carson's lyrically written 1962 book, *Silent Spring*, however, charged that DDT (dichlorodiphenyl-trichloroethane) was a major threat to human and animal life. The book was a huge breakthrough for the environmental movement. Soon after its publication, DDT was outlawed in most developed countries and became rarely used in the Third World.

Pollock reports that the decision to all but eliminate DDT's use may have cost millions of lives in the Third World. Despite environmental groups' rabid opposition to its use, there is little convincing evidence that it causes cancer and endocrine system damage in humans or, indeed, that it causes any serious harm to plants or warm blooded animals: J. Gordon Edwards, a prominent entomologist and DDT supporter, frequently eats it by the spoonful to prove its safety. Pollock also reports that Leicester University toxicologist Andy Smith has done a comprehensive review of DDT's effects and believes that it is safe. Smith adds that, even if it does damage the environment, enforcing a global ban on its use amounts to the imposition of "chemical doctrines that are First World luxuries" on countries that desperately need an effective way to fight malaria and other diseases.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

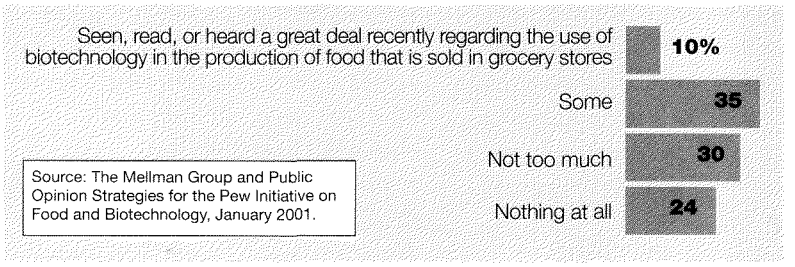
Opinion Pulse

Edited by Karlyn Bowman

A Biotechnology Barometer

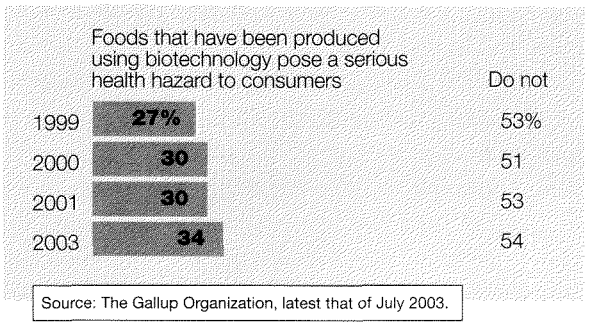
Only 10 percent of Americans say they have seen, read, or heard a great deal about the use of biotechnology in food production. At the other end of the spectrum, 54 percent say they don't have much or any information at all about it. Still, a majority believe it is unlikely that bioengineered foods will present a serious health hazard. Europeans are more skeptical than Americans. Americans are more likely to think about things such as including vegetables and fruits in their diets than they are to think about whether what they eat is bioengineered.

Question: How much have you...?



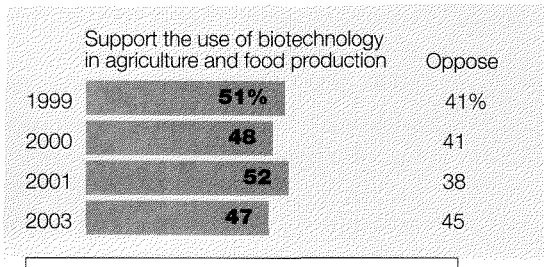
Source: The Mellman Group and Public Opinion Strategies for the Pew Initiative on Food and Biotechnology, January 2001.

Question: From what you know or have heard, do you believe...?



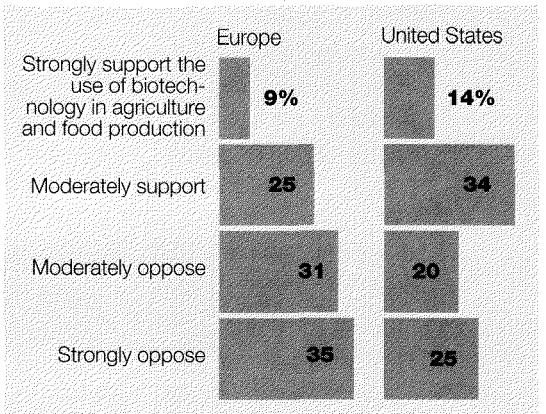
Source: The Gallup Organization, latest that of July 2003.

Question: Overall, would you say you...?



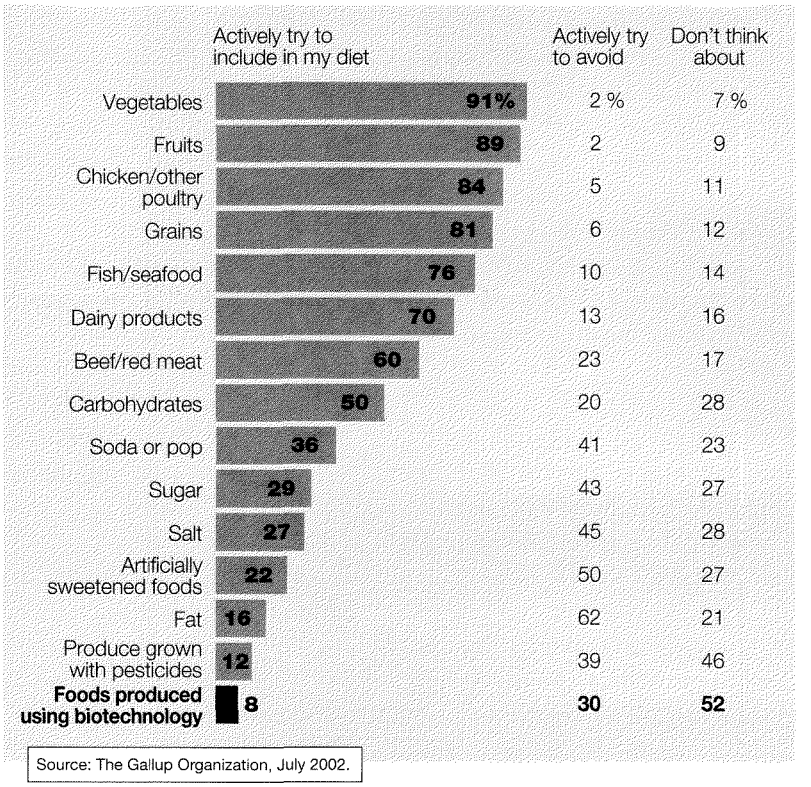
Source: The Gallup Organization, latest that of July 2003.

Question: Overall, would you say you...?



Note: European sample = Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Poland. Source: For the European countries, Market & Opinion Research International (MORI) June–July 2002. For the United States, Harris Interactive, June 2002. Both surveys were supported by the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations and the German Marshall Fund.

Question: Thinking about the food you eat, for each of the following please say if it is something you...?



Source: The Gallup Organization, July 2002.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

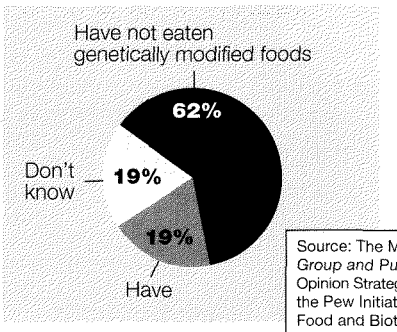
People seem more positive about the possible benefits associated with biotechnology than the risks. Only about 20 percent say they have eaten genetically modified foods. When told that there are already many modified foods currently on their grocery store shelves, most people say these foods are safe. Americans support labeling these food products.

Question: Some people have suggested that using biotechnology to genetically modify plants, fish, animals, or trees will have benefits for the environment, while others have said there are or will be risks. Genetic modification means taking the genes responsible for a particular trait (like growth or disease resistance) from one organism and inserting them into the genes of another organism so that it has the same trait. On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is not at all important and 5 is very important, how important to you personally are the following possible effects...?

	Important	Average importance	Not important
Genetically modifying plants so that they can clean up toxic pollutants in the soil	74%	14%	11%
Reducing soil erosion	73	15	10
Reducing the amount of fertilizer that can pollute streams and lakes	72	15	11
Reducing the amount of water to grow crops	68	17	14
Developing disease-resistant varieties of endangered or threatened trees	67	19	13
The possibility that genes could contaminate ordinary plants, fish, or trees	64	18	14
Reducing the need to log in native forests	63	19	16
Reducing the amount of chemical pesticides	61	24	14
Creating superweeds	57	17	24
Increasing the number of insects that may develop resistance to pesticides	57	17	22
Reducing genetic diversity	49	22	24
Changing plants, fish, or trees through biotechnology so that it might harm other species	49	17	32
Changing the ecosystem	46	23	28

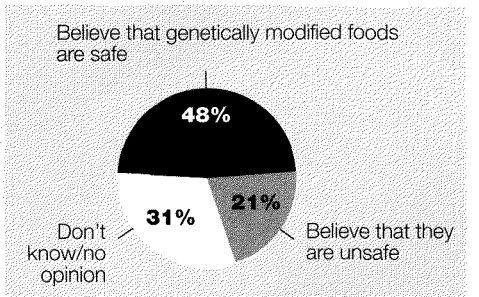
Note: Important = points 4 and 5 on the 5-point scale; average = point 3; not important = points 1 and 2.
Source: The Mellman Group and Public Opinion Strategies for the Pew Initiative on Food and Biotechnology, January 2002.

Question: As far as you know...?



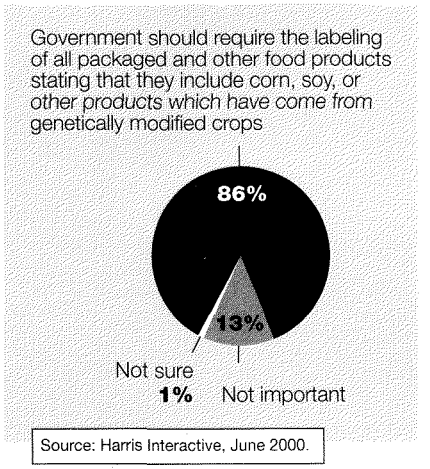
Source: The Mellman Group and Public Opinion Strategies for the Pew Initiative on Food and Biotechnology, January 2001.

Question: Now, as you may know, more than half of products at the grocery store are produced using some form of biotechnology or genetic modification. Knowing this, do you...?



Source: The Mellman Group and Public Opinion Strategies for the Pew Initiative on Food and Biotechnology, January 2001.

Question: Do you think...?



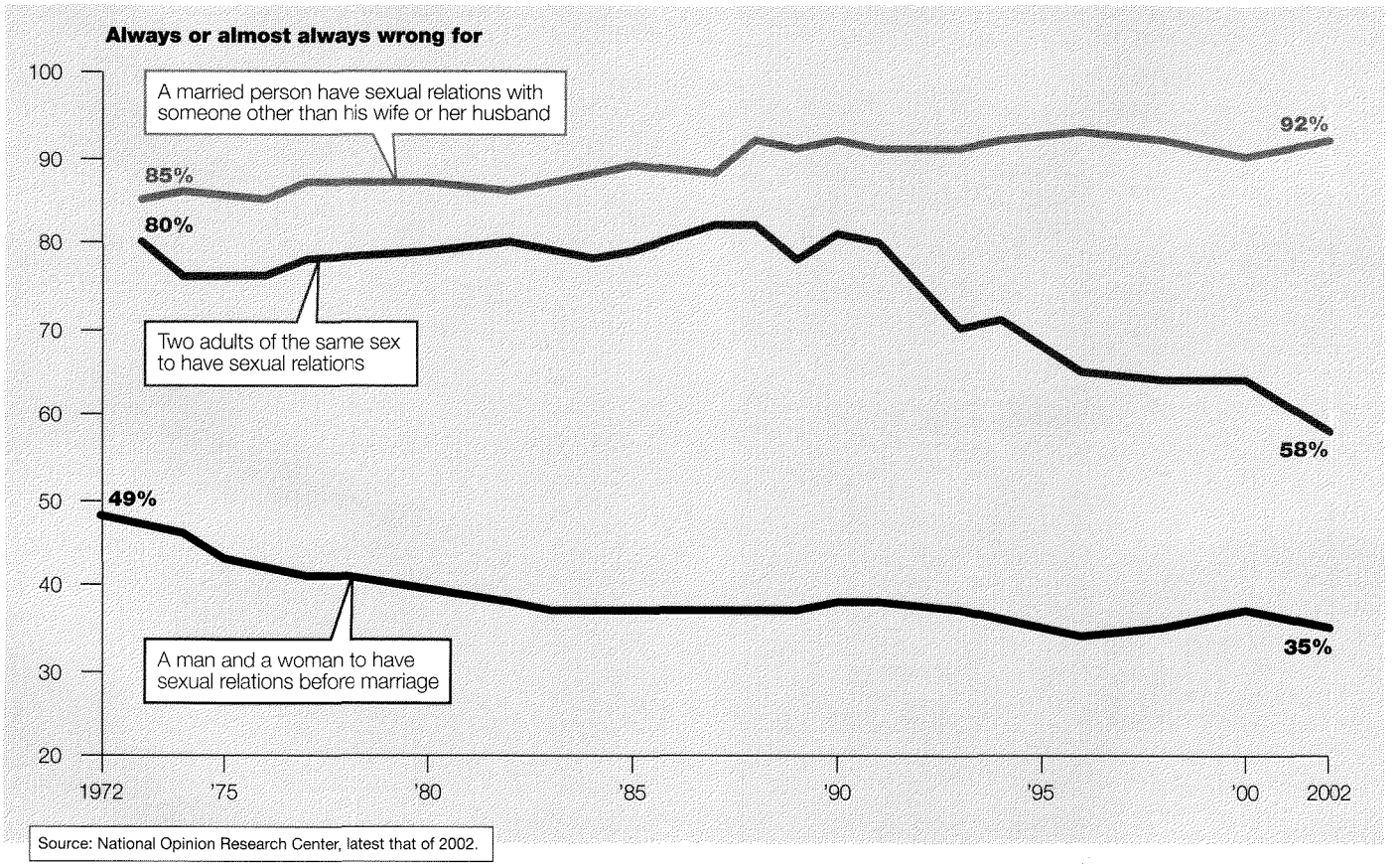
Source: Harris Interactive, June 2000.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gay Marriage

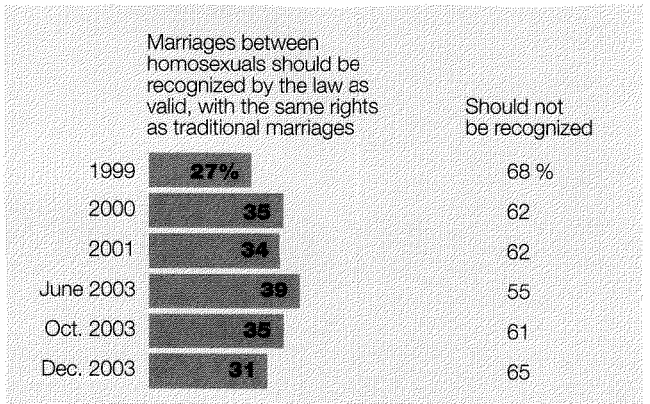
Over the past three decades, many Americans have changed their minds about the morality of homosexuality. In 1973, 80 percent said sexual relations between two adults of the same sex were always or almost always wrong. In 2002, 58 percent gave that response. In most recent polls, between 30 and 35 percent support gay marriage, and around 60 to 65 percent are opposed. There is majority support for a Constitutional amendment stating that marriage should only be between a man and a woman, but there does not appear to be a strong demand for its passage.

Question: There's been a lot of discussion about the way morals and attitudes about sex are changing in this country. Do you think it is...?



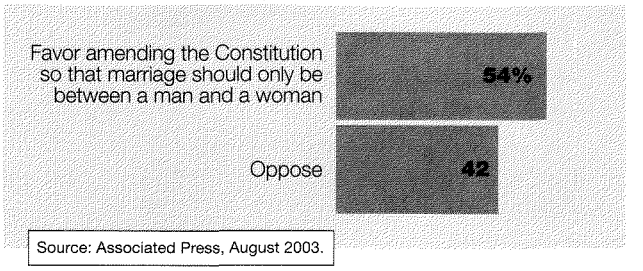
Source: National Opinion Research Center, latest that of 2002.

Question: Do you think...?



Source: The Gallup Organization, latest that of December 2003.

Question: Congress is considering a Constitutional amendment that marriage should only be between a man and a woman. Would you...?

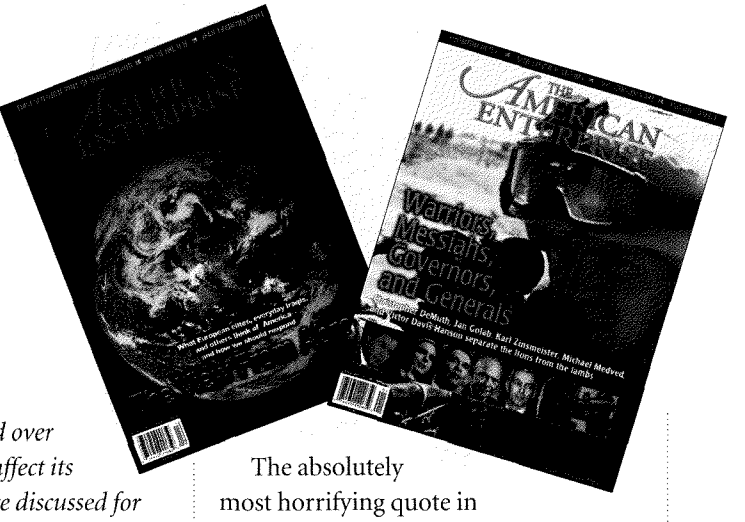


Source: Associated Press, August 2003.

Of the 55 percent in a September 2003 ABC News poll who said that it should be illegal for homosexual couples to marry, 36 percent said that it was worth it to amend the Constitution to prohibit homosexual marriage, but 60 percent said it was not.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Mail



While Christopher DeMuth makes some interesting arguments in "Governors (and Generals) Rule" (January/February), it is absolutely ludicrous that he justifies his viewpoint with the statement that of the three Presidents who came from legislative backgrounds, "none was re-elected." Two of the three "legislator" Presidents (Harding and Kennedy) died in office, and it is because of illness or assassination that they only served one term. Therefore, it seems extremely deceitful and manipulative that DeMuth would choose not to note this irregularity, and instead merely use Harding and Kennedy's one-term Presidencies as statistics that somehow suggest that legislators are inherently less able to win re-election.

Tyler Allard
Princeton, New Jersey

One thing should be added to Christopher DeMuth's list of factors that favor state governors over federal legislators in running for President: political patronage. Governors appoint hundreds (and in some states thousands) to state offices, boards, and commissions, and they award millions in contracts and other benefits. Legislators have very limited powers of patronage. This provides governors with an immediate, substantial, and loyal fundraising base from which to launch and sustain a campaign.

Michael Johnson
Los Angeles, California

Christopher DeMuth responds:
It is juvenile for Tyler Allard to use such harsh language to make such a small point. My article skimmed over many details that do not affect its general argument; they are discussed for aficionados in the longer version and appendix posted on TAE's *Web site (www.TAEmag.com). And his point is wrong. Three military leaders, two governors, and one statesman also died or were assassinated while President (three during their first terms and all before the Twenty-second Amendment). Removing all of them plus the two legislators from the re-election numbers, or spotting all of them an unearned re-election, would strengthen, not weaken, the pattern of governor-and-general dominance that I described without tweaking the numbers.*

Michael Johnson's point about the patronage and fundraising advantages of governors is an excellent one which I would have made myself if I had thought of it.

Michael Medved's "Crucifying Mel Gibson" (January/February) requires some criticism. His reactions to *The Passion of the Christ* are all visceral, not intellectual, spiritual, or aesthetic. He speaks of the film as "brutal, graphic." He mentions "the violent torture of Christ." He finds that "the suffering of Christ…becomes almost unendurable." According to his implied criterion, any snuff film would be about as good to watch. Surely a saner way to represent such a crucial religious event would be to put some distance between the horrifying event and the emotions of the viewer, so as to encourage thoughtfulness about its Christian meaning.

Leonard Moskovit
Boulder, Colorado

The absolutely most horrifying quote in Rachel Jurado's "Gun Control Victims" (January/February) is from the Reverend Allen Brockway of the United Methodist Church, in which he suggests it is "women's Christian duty to submit to rape." What kind of church would have such a man representing them? One can only speculate that perhaps Brockway really has a problem with women, but I'm not a psychoanalyst, I'm a woman.

Thank you to Rachel Jurado for an article which reminds us all that we need to stand up for our rights, lest there be no one left to stand up!

Maria Heil, Vice President
Second Amendment Sisters

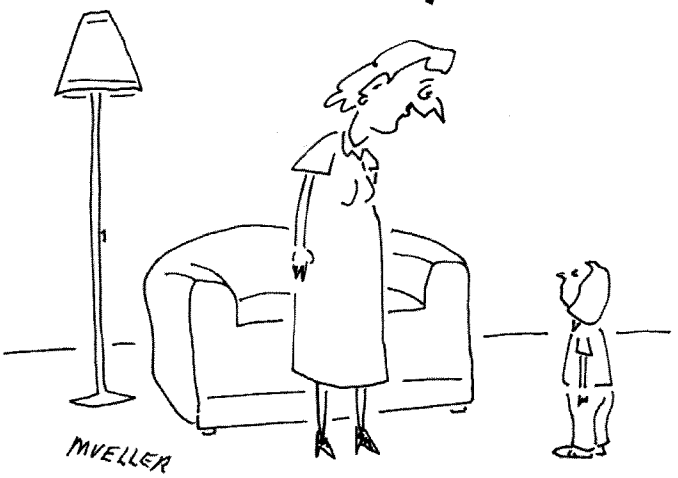
David Gutmann's "Only U.S. Strength Can Defeat Islamism" (December 2003) smacks of the arrogance that has helped create the difficult position in which the United States finds itself in Iraq and around the world today. While one cannot deny the need for force as a response to acts of terror, the use of force is by no means the only and most suitable response to all forms of terror.

The United States must also learn to use an oft-overlooked and sidelined issue as a means to defeating religion-based terror: religious freedom. Where freedom of religion and belief is protected by governments and valued by citizens, religion-based terrorism will not take root.

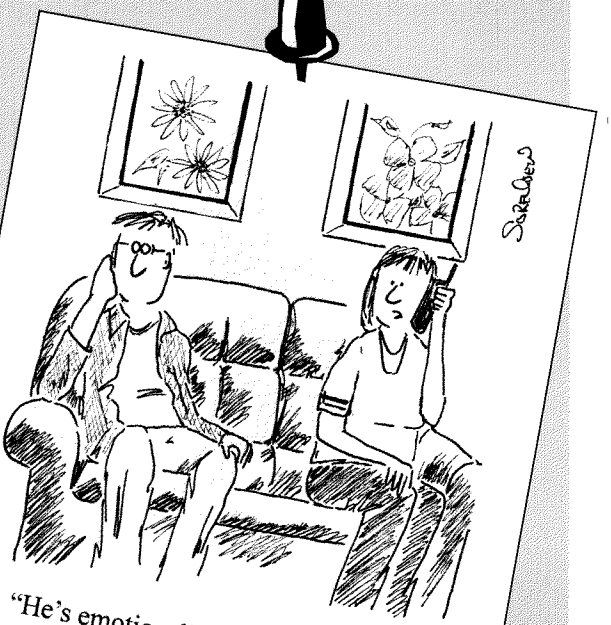
Joseph Grieboski, President
Institute on Religion and Public Policy

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send e-mail to TAE@aei.org. Or write "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax (202) 862-5867. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

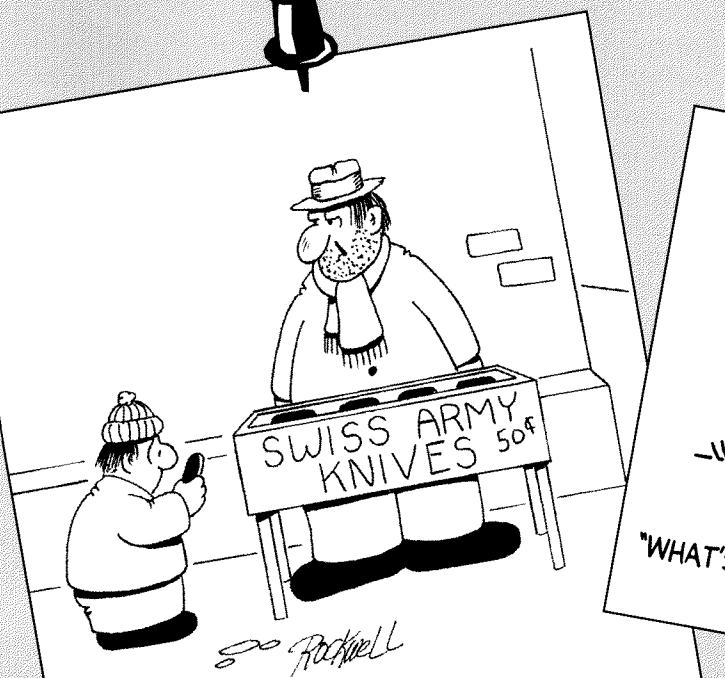
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



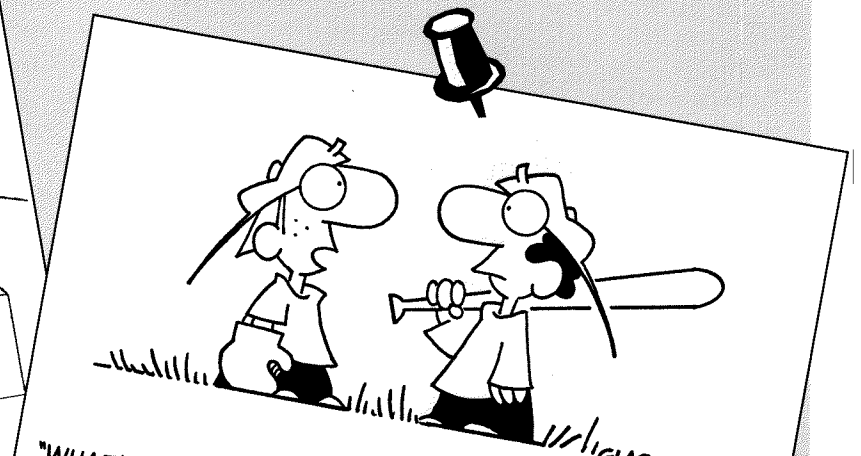
It's such a nice day. You should be outside compiling information.



"He's emotionally unavailable at the moment. Can I take a message?"

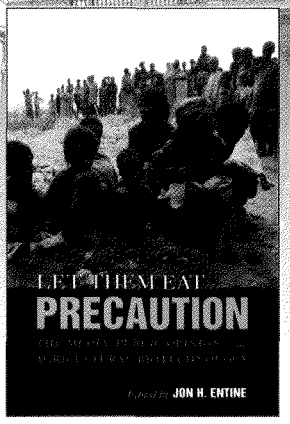


"Of course it doesn't have any blades. The Swiss are neutral."

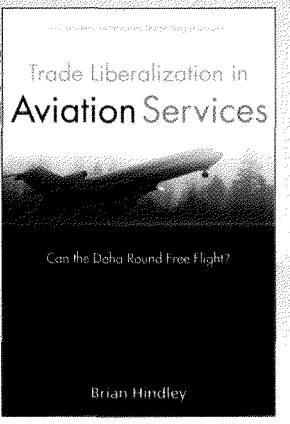


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

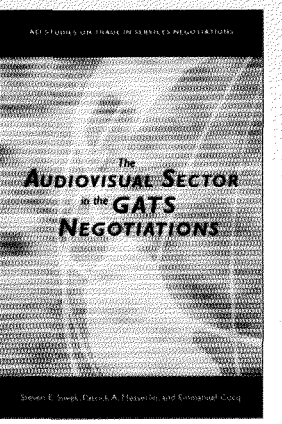
New Titles



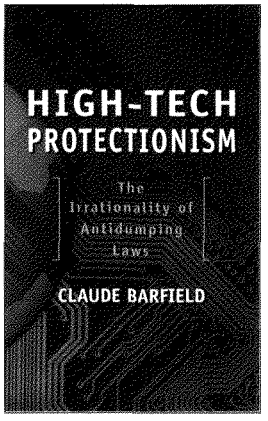
The authors address the risk and rewards of agricultural biotechnology—not only scientific, but also political, social, moral, and economic—with an aim of a rational and internationally coordinated public policy.
Paperback $25.00



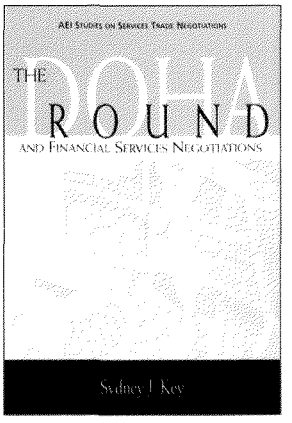
Can the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) be applied successfully to the air services industry? Hindley provides a strategy for liberalizing the aviation services industry, identifying aspects of the industry that invite such efforts.
Paperback $15.00



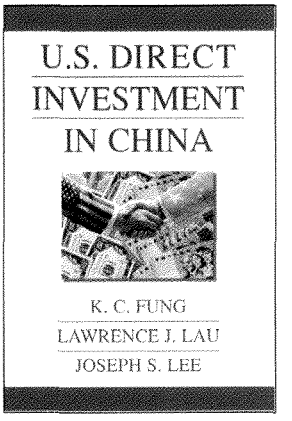
Worldwide access to new technologies poses many new issues for trade in audiovisual services. Authors recommend options for liberalizing this sector in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). Copublished wth the Institut d'études politique de Paris
Paperback $15.00



Barfield argues that antidumping laws contradict free trade policies that have dramatically improved global economic welfare, and this is particularly troublesome in high-technology sectors. He recommends repealing antidumping laws and substituting antitrust actions, or substituting safeguard actions for antidumping.
Paperback $15.00



Key provides a unique framework for analyzing the role of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) in the liberalization and regulation of the financial services sector.
Paperback $15.00



The authors use a new data time series on investment and trade to argue that U.S. direct investment in China benefits both countries and, contrary to the public's perception, does not take jobs away from U.S. workers.
Paperback $20.00

AEI *Buy these books and more from the AEI Press online at www.aei.org*

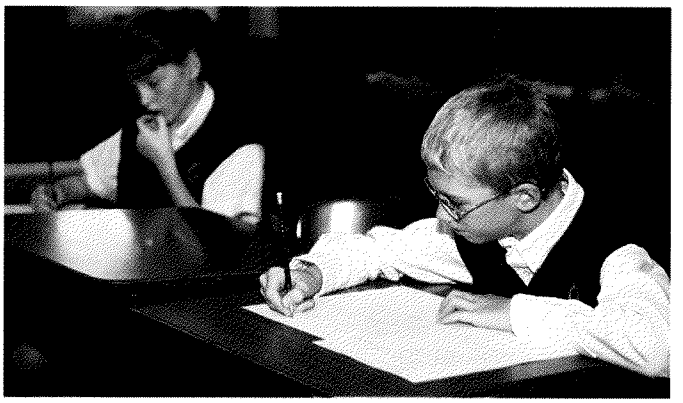
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

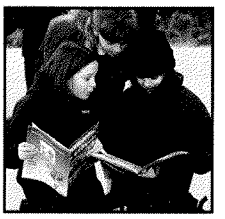
HILLSDALE ACADEMY
– A MODEL FOR AMERICA –

Hillsdale Academy's K-8 *Reference Guide* is now available online!
AND IT'S FREE!

Currently in its fourteenth year, Hillsdale Academy consistently places in the top three percent nationwide in standardized testing. Today, the school's complete academic program for Grades K-8 is available to you! Already in use by more than 400 schools coast to coast, the *Hillsdale Academy Reference Guide* includes:

- curriculum and book lists
- school culture guidelines
- parent and faculty handbooks
- weekly curriculum outlines





To download your **FREE** copy of the *Reference Guide*, log on to:
www.hillsdale.edu/academy

Printed copies of the K-8 *Guide* are available for purchase at $100 each by calling **(800) 989-7323**.

Hillsdale
COLLEGE
Hillsdale, Michigan 49242
www.hillsdale.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED